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GRAPHIC & HISTORICAL

Description

of the

CATHEDRALS of GREAT BRITAIN.

Vol. I.

A Door in the Cloisters, Canterbury Cathedral.

Published June 1.st 1814 by Harris & Son, Corner of Wells St. Oxford Road.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Cathedral Churches

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

A SERIES OF HIGHLY-FINISHED ENGRAVINGS,

Exhibiting general and particular Views, Ground Plans, and all the architectural Features and Ornaments in the various Styles of Building used in our

Ecclesiastical Edifices.

BY JAMES STORER.

ȝ ealle englaȝ ȝ ealle þihtþiȝe men ȝindon hiȝ tempel. ALFRED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL I.

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Preface.

The impressive effect of our cathedral churches is universally admitted; their variety, grandeur, and beauty, have long been subjects of admiration. No other country can boast of an equal number of religious edifices so exquisitely ornamented, so diversified in their structure, yet, at the same time, so harmonious and magnificent in their general appearance. All persons who behold them instantly feel anxious to know something of their historical antiquity. With their history is involved that of religion, which affords a practical illustration of the nature and operations of the human mind. In the origin and progress of religious edifices we discover the influence of devotional feelings; the condition and extent of these buildings evince the expansion of human intellect, the state of the arts, the march of civilization, and the meliorating circumstances of social man. Unhappily, the political annalist is too often obliged to exhibit only views of tyranny and ambition, fraud, rapine, and carnage. The ecclesiastical historian, although not entirely exempt from similar horrors, has always the advantage of being engaged with objects superior to those of mere sense; he is led to the consideration of subjects almost entirely intellectual, to that which concerns the higher, the divine-like faculties of man. Hence the decided superiority of the ecclesiastical over the political historian, the religionist over the warrior. The destruction of an Amalekite by a javelin, or the death of a European by the sword, are acts too analogous to "present a quarry to the busy mind;" but the erection of an altar or temple in Judea, or a church in Britain, furnishes inexhaustible sources of rational inquiry. The history of the origin, condition, and vicissitudes of such works certainly offers one of the most innocent if not most meritorious of mental enjoyments. Neither the books on the wars of the Israelites, nor the recorded wisdom of Solomon exhibit such clear and definite views of the skill and talents of the Hebrews, as the building of the temple at Jerusalem. Its structure demonstrates the existence

at least of great mechanical dexterity. In like manner the construction of churches developes the taste, skill, and mechanical genius, of the age and nation. If we add to the history of their fabrication a view of the rites for which they were destined, we may thence discover how the progress of the arts has surpassed that of the sciences, and at the same time learn the causes which have obstructed the diffusion of true religion and useful knowledge.

In the sketches of history and antiquities, here respectfully submitted to the public, it was natural for protestants and lovers of antiquity to adopt the language and sentiments of the great fathers of the English church.—The following accounts of our cathedrals are chiefly the works of persons who, having finished their university education, have visited, either as travelling fellows or private inquirers, the different countries of Europe—who have personally witnessed the effects of idolatrous ceremonies, and of true religion on society; and who felt it a sacred duty to state the facts to such of their countrymen as may not have had similar opportunities of observing the miseries of superstition and ignorance.

The Editors cannot omit this opportunity of returning their grateful acknowledgements to the right reverend prelates, divines, and private gentlemen, who have liberally aided their exertions; and, as the writers are not the artists, they may be permitted to speak of the latter, and say from their personal knowledge, that the plates exhibit more faithful portraitures of the different edifices than any hitherto laid before the public.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

METROPOLITAN CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Canterbury.

RELIGION, science, and civilization, have found an asylum in Canterbury, since the earliest records of our island. Without entering into the vague allegations of tradition, it is sufficient that a populous and civilized city existed here before the Christian era. It was found a place of consequence at the Roman invasion*, and by the Romans called *Durovernum*†. The Britons denominated it *Cair* or *Caer Kent*, the city of Kent, and the Saxons, *Cantwara-byrig*, and *Cantwara-thic*, the Kentish men's city, court, or borough. These appellations indicate its importance as the capital of the province or kingdom. It is equally known as one of the first places in which Christianity found adherents in this country. By whom, indeed, or in what particular year it was favoured with the light of the gospel, it is now vain to inquire. In the apostolic age the diffusion of religious knowledge, not the extension of personal celebrity, was the sole object of the holy and good men chosen to disseminate the doctrines of Christ; hence we find so few records of the early propagators of our religion, compared with those of the moderns, who not unfrequently evince themselves soldiers as zealous after the "bubble reputation," as the exemplification of Christian piety. It is then immaterial‡ who were the first teachers of christianity in our island, whether our church was planted by St. Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, or king Lucius, it is enough that all historians concur in proving the existence of Christian temples in Canterbury dur-

* See Gale on Roman Stations, Archaeologia, vol. i. p. 187.

† Camden supposes this name to be derived from *Dwr-whern*, a rapid river; Leland from *Dwr-avona*, the river water; Lambard from *Dwr-ar-guerne*, river near the fen or marsh. That it had a British name prior to the visit of *Julius Cæsar*, there cannot be a doubt, however etymologists may now be unable to determine it. By Bede and subsequent writers, it was called *Dorovernia*, or *Dorobernia*.

‡ The question by whom was Christianity first taught in Britain, is very impartially discussed in a long note to Moshcim's Commentaries, translated by Vidal. It is there proved very satisfactorily, we might almost say demonstrated, that whoever first made the Britons Christians, it could not be by any act or influence of the bishops of Rome.

ing the domination of the Romans: it is equally certain, that immense numbers of Britons fell victims to their religious faith, and several historians estimate that the British Christians were decimated during the Roman persecutions. The faithful of Canterbury, doubtless, participated in the fate of their countrymen; yet, as capital cities are generally the best places of security during commotions, it seems probable that a sufficient number of believing citizens survived the carnage, to form here at least one, if not two, visible churches. Tradition, which oftener magnifies than creates where there is no selfish motive to direct it, speaks of two places dedicated to Christian worship, prior to the days of Augustine; these were afterwards designated by the names of St. Pancrace and St. Martin*. The latter, in the suburbs of the city, was occupied as a Christian chapel by queen Berhta, or Bertha, a daughter of the king of Soissons†. Ethelbert, king of Kent, having married this Christian princess, she stipulated for the free exercise of her own religion, and was accompanied to this country by bishop Luidhard, as chaplain. "Here, therefore," as truly observed by a judicious native writer, "was a Christian church and congregation settled, with a queen and her chaplain Luidhard, bishop of Soissons, at the head of it, before St. Augustine and his monks made their appearance in England in 597, and hither (as Mr. Somner tells us from Bede), did he and his fellow-labourers resort to their devotions at their first arrival, by the licence of king Ethelbert in favour of his queen."

The story of the "Advent" of Augustine, his journey from Rome, after much trepidation and "lingering looks behind;" his progress through France, arrival in the isle of Thanet, hospitable reception from king Ethelbert, his entry into Canterbury, successful proselytism, visit to France to be consecrated bishop, return to his newly-erected see in the capital of the kingdom, and his whole ecclesiastical or episcopal life, have all been so often repeated, so long the subject of thoughtless admiration, or injudicious censure, that few of these incidents merit attention in the present history. That Augustine was not the first propagator of Christianity even in Kent, must be allowed by his greatest admirers; that Ethelbert was disposed to this faith previous to the arrival of the Romish missionaries in his dominions, is equally

* "This, says Gostling, and another church where our cathedral now stands, are supposed to have been built by the Christians of the Roman soldiery, in the second century, and the time of Lucius, the first Christian king, who lived in 182, so that it is looked on as one of the oldest structures of that kind, still in constant use now in the kingdom; and, indeed, nothing appears in the materials or architecture to contradict this opinion, for its walls seem to be built (those of the chancel at least entirely of Roman bricks (those infallible marks of antiquity), and the structure is the most simple that is possible." Walk, &c. p. 25.

† Some writers call her the daughter of Chilperic and Fredegonda, two of the very worst characters in history; others with more truth pronounce her the daughter of Clothaire and Franchild.

certain; and it seems more than probable, that the mild and pious Luidhard, with queen Berta, would have effected all, and perhaps much more than Augustine did in favour of religion, had this messenger of "the servant of the servants of God" never set a foot in our island. Christianity had then many followers in Canterbury, and it should always be remembered, that religious faith is to be estimated rather by the exalted purity, than the number* of its adherents. Augustine indeed and his companions, Laurentius, Mellitus, &c. exhibited somewhat of an imposing character; they made a public entry into Canterbury, preceded by a large silver cross, borne, says Bede, as a banner, and not for adoration, *(pro vexillo non pro adoratione)*. Such a procession could not fail to create public attention, and when it was received by the queen and allowed by the court, necessarily attracted many followers. Multitudes were baptized, and received a knowledge of the Christian faith. The nation had attained a respectable state of civilization, consequently the Scandinavian mythology could no longer influence the public mind. The moment was propitious for disseminating the gospel. Gregory seems to have known it, as he accuses the British bishops with being lukewarm and indifferent in the cause of conversion.† To Gregory, indeed, much more praise is due than to his missionaries. This Roman bishop possessed a most comprehensive, liberal, and truly Christian mind, as appears by his letters and his directions to Augustine‡. The latter, although a man of some learning, was manifestly deficient in that benevolent spirit, that conciliatory benignity, which in the expression of St. Paul, becomes "all things to all men." We are, however, far from accusing him of the foul massacre of the priests of Bangor and other British Christians; but it is unquestionable, that instead of courting their friendship, of soliciting their aid, he sternly quarrelled with them about mere punctilios, frivolous rites and ceremonies, unknown to, and therefore rejected by the British Christians. The superior mind of Gregory would have embraced them as true brothers, identified himself with them, and lead them by his Christian toleration to the same celestial goal,

* Modern France and the United States of America furnish an example of the necessity of this distinction: in both countries the people are all reputed Christians, yet it is to be feared that the great majority of them, particularly the French, are totally destitute of any religious sentiment or feeling, and the mere slaves of infidelity and superstition.

† See his Epistles, translated by Elstob, in the English Saxon Homily.

‡ His truly apostolic answer to Augustines's bigotted inquiry respecting a conformity with the modes of the Roman church, is worthy of being recorded as an example to his less Christian successors. "I am of opinion, that whether in the Roman church, or in those of France, or in any other church, you shall have discovered any thing that may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you should carefully make choice of it, and infuse into the English church, which is yet but new in the faith, by a particular appointment, whatsoever out of many churches you have been able to collect. *Things are not to be valued for the places whence they come.* Therefore, out of the several churches, whatsoever things are pious, religious, and just, these make choice of, and these collected fix in the minds of the English, that they may grow into practice."

without using one of the menaces or curses of Augustine. It is but too evident, notwithstanding the ingenious defence of Mrs. Elstob and Capt. Hastings*, that Augustine was more elated with his own success, and particularly with his power after obtaining the pall†, than humbled by a pious Christian sense of his own unworthiness, as the instrument of propagating divine truth. Of this Gregory's letters and friendly admonitions to him furnish ample testimony; at the same time they prove that the Roman pontiff possessed some correct knowledge of human nature. To save souls, to multiply believers, by whatever means, seemed the sole object and desire of Gregory: to fix and establish a determinate hierarchy, occupied more of Augustine's thoughts. In the course of six years, which he is reported to live after his arrival in our city, he founded a monastery, built churches, went to France, and was consecrated archbishop: returned, and consecrated a bishop of Rochester, and another of London; met a council of the British bishops in Worcestershire, and attempted to force on them a new

* See Preface to the English Saxon Homily, by E. Elstob, and Vestiges of Antiquity in Canterbury and its Environs, by T. Hastings, esq. a gentleman of no ordinary talents as an artist.

† The pall, so called from *pallium*, a cloke, according to Collier, was originally a rich robe of state, peculiar to the imperial rank, till the emperors gave the patriarchs leave to wear it. The bishop of Rome with this, as with every other regal distinction, gradually obtained the power of conferring it on others; and pope Vigilius, it appears in 554, refused to confer it on the archbishop of Arles, until he had obtained the emperor's permission. The Gallican church had a pall independent of Rome, till 742, when pope Zachary got a canon passed that all Christendom should henceforward own the church of Rome as the centre of communion, and live in subjection to Peter's see, and that the metropolitans should apply to Rome for their palls, and pay a canonical obedience to St. Peter's injunctions. From this period the rich pall was laid aside, the popes thought a less costly badge of subjection to them might do as well, and substituted a strip or list of white woollen cloth, about as broad as a garter, adorned with crosses, and hanging on the shoulders with a piece of the same stuff reaching towards the ground before and behind. This trifling thing, unworthy the name of an ornament, was obtained by no little labour and expense, petitioning vehemently and paying liberally, generally to the amount of 5000 florins, worth 4s. 6d. each. Even when it was thus dearly bought, the archbishop was confined to wear it only on certain solemn occasions, the privilege of constant use being reserved to his papal holiness. The reader, humourously observes Gostling, "will wonder how such a trinket could bear such an extravagant price, till he is informed that it was *declared to be taken from the body of St. Peter*, which, to be sure, rendered it of great value. The pope, having assumed the monopoly of it, decreed that the purchaser might not exercise the power and office, or even assume the title of archbishop, till he had received this badge of the fulness of his authority, or rather of dependence on and obedience to the pope, to whom, on receiving it, he bound himself by a solemn oath, always to defend, consult, and support his holiness, and to make no alteration in the property of the see without the Roman pontiff's permission!" (See Battely's Cantuaria Sacra). When the archbishop died this pall was to be buried with him; but whether for his use in the other world, or to prevent his successor from using it without paying the fees, the papists have left to heretical conjecture. Another instance of papal blasphemy is worthy of recording, respecting a pastoral staff, which evinces the idolatrous arrogance of Rome. The staff was placed in the archbishop's hands by a monk commissioned by the prior and convent of Canterbury, with these words: "Reverend father, I am sent to you from the *sovereign prince of the world*, who requires and commands you to undertake the government of his church, and to love and protect her; and in proof of my orders I deliver you the standard of the king of heaven!" After this the pall was presented to him thus: "To the honour of Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, our *Lord Pope A.* the holy Roman church, and also of the holy church of Canterbury committed to their charge, we [the commissioned bishops] give you the pall *taken from the body* of St. Peter, a full authority for the exercise of your archiepiscopal function; with the liberty of wearing this honourable distinction in your cathedral upon certain days mentioned in the *apostolic* bulls of privileges."

church discipline, besides working many miracles, which we have too much respect for his memory to mention,—and all in this short period. As a Christian missionary, he was too impetuous and dogmatic; as a soldier, too feeble-bodied to effect a revolution in society: he shrewdly observed the necessity of uniting political with spiritual power, but he was too ignorant of the human mind*, too little imbued with the spirit of that holy religion which he professed, to give permanency to his principles and institutions. Accordingly, we find that the successors of Ethelbert not only apostatized, but acted in many respects worse than the veriest pagans, who never heard of the gospel. Of Ethelbert himself we say nothing. The disciples and followers of the apostles acted very differently: their meekness and their virtues insured them respect and the most steady friendship, while those of Augustine incurred the most determined opposition, and perpetrated the most unpardonable and most sanguinary atrocities. To say, with the Augustinians, that the massacre of the British Christians was an evidence of divine vengeance, for their opposition to the system proposed by the Romish missionaries, is to add blasphemy to murder.

Thus far it seemed necessary to notice the conduct and principles of Augustine† and his immediate followers, as affecting the character of our national faith and manners. As to the miracles ascribed to him since his death, and the pretended revelations to his monastery, we shall not imitate Gibbon by repeating them in order to depreciate the character of this Christian missionary. Neither can we notice the numerous reported translations of his bones, the fabricated inscriptions said to be found on his coffin, the spurious charters alleged to be granted to his monastery by king Ethelbert, all of which are worthy only of a superstitious and ignorant age! Augustine‡ died in Jan. 604 (some allege 611), and was succeeded by Lawrence, a Roman,

* Hence we find one of the best tests of revealed truth. The more the doctrines taught in the scriptures are examined, the more minutely they are investigated, with all the aid of modern science, the more profound and consonant they appear with the laws of our physical and moral nature. The extension of science indeed has furnished additional evidence of their divine origin, and as men improve their knowledge of the material world, their reverence and respect for the revealed moral laws increase, as exemplified in Newton. On the contrary, the diffusion of physical knowledge has banished all the impostors and false workers of miracles from civilized society.

† One specimen of the marvellous deserves attention, as related by Sprott. So late as 1221 it was determined to search for his remains, and after the usual ceremonies of fasting, praying, &c. they were partly discovered in a leaden vessel seven feet long, made in 1091, bearing an inscription, "this lead contains part of the dust of the body of the blessed Augustine." Near it were found many precious relics, as some of the hairs of the blessed Virgin Mary, a part of the seamless coat, a piece of the pillar to which our Lord was tied and whipped, &c.; and as "it had been *revealed* by a *threefold revelation* that Augustine's glorious body should be found in *three* different places, the truth of which was afterwards made manifest, so now our lord Hugh III, abbot, and the convent by *divine inspiration*, caused his body to be honourably deposited in three places."

‡ "Whose whole story," says Somner "is become so trite and vulgar that it needs no repetition."

who was ordained previous to the death of his predecessor, in order to protect the infant church. The zeal of this prelate greatly surpassed his prudence; and his attempts to force the Scotch Christians to adopt the Roman ritual, were as abortive as those of Augustine on the Britons; in return, they obstinately refused to hold any communication* with those who differed from them in religious ceremonies. Lawrence introduced monks into the monastery of Christ Church, that of St. Augustine, being afterwards completed by Ethelbert. Kings Ethelbert† and Sebert, both dying about the same period, 616, their sons and successors apostatized from the Christian faith, and embraced all the extravagance and vices of paganism. Mellitus bishop of London, and Justus bishop of Rochester, despairing of success, in the most dastardly manner fled the country. Lawrence was preparing to follow them, and abandon that church which Augustine had established with much more speciousness than solidity, when St. Peter appeared to him one night, reprimanded him for leaving his flock, and gave him with his own hands such a flogging, that the chastised bishop went the next morning to king Eadbald, exhibited his naked shoulders with the effects of his scourging, and told his majesty how he had received it. This flogging miracle produced the desired effect; the apostate monarch immediately repented, again became a Christian, and continued so during the remainder of his life; nor did this miracle require any extraordinary faith in Eadbald, as the most learned heathens in the most enlightened ages believe many things much more absurd and incredible. Poor Lawrence, however, says Harpsfield, did not long survive this castigation, and died in 619.

Mellitus, who had been so successful in converting the East Saxons, after a year's absence, returned to his flock, but could never again get possession of his see. He retired to Canterbury, and succeeded Lawrence. Mellitus was a native of Rome, said to be of noble extraction, and represented by Bede as very pious, having quenched a fire in our city by his prayers. The same historian says, he had a feeble body but a strong mind, yet his conduct furnishes no evidence of the latter. He died of the gout in 624. Justus, bishop of Rochester, was our next prelate: he was very sedulous in diffusing the gospel, and died, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 627, to Bede 630. He was suc-

* See Bromton, Chron. Sax. &c.

† Ethelbert was buried in the porch of St. Martin's church, which, according to Lambard, was a bishop's see from the time of archbishop Theodore to Lanfranc, about 349 years. The rank and duties of this bishop have been the subject of some controversy; one considering him only as performing the part of archdeacon, another that of a *chorepiscopus*, a kind of country suffragan, an order which was abolished in foreign countries. The bishop of St. Martin's, however, supplied the place of the archbishop, who generally attended the court, and superintended the monks. Lanfranc, finding the see vacant, refused to consecrate another, and it has been erroneously said substituted an archdeacon in his place.

(f)

ceeded by Honorius, a disciple of Gregory, who filled the see many years, and has been reported the first who divided the country into parishes. This however has been disproved by Selden. He engaged warmly in the Pelagian controversy, which was revived in his time, and died in 654. In 655 the first native, a West Saxon, called *Deus-dedit*, or *Adeodatus* (i. e. God sent), but whose real name was Trithona, ascended the archiepiscopal chair. He was a man of so great piety, learning, and virtue, that he unanimously obtained the above appellation, as most characteristic of his life and manners. He died in 664. The see was afterwards vacant near four years, when Damianius (called also Wigard), a South Saxon, was consecrated bishop. He went to Rome, with letters from the kings of Kent and Northumberland, for his pall, and died there of the plague. This circumstance afforded pope Vitalian an opportunity of personally consecrating a new archbishop of Canterbury. He accordingly offered the pall to abbot Adrian, a Carthaginian, and Andrew a monk, both of whom refused it. The former, however, recommended Theodore, a Greek of Tarsus, in Cilicia, as a proper person. Theodore was in his sixty-sixth year, and in 668 was consecrated by the pope. He was detained at Rome four months, till his hair grew to make a crown; for being a Greek he was shaved: the pope gave him the tonsure, and consecrated him; but so jealous was Vitalian of his principles, that it is said he sent Adrian as a monitor with him to Britain, lest he should introduce the customs of the Greek church. Hence commenced the prelacy of one of the greatest men which ever graced an episcopal throne. The monks and papists have artfully vilified his memory, some by their praises*, others by their censures; but it is to the great Theodore that Britons have to be grateful for the blessings of the gospel; he transferred Christianity from the lips to the heads and hearts of our countrymen; he introduced no works of supererogation, no idle ceremonies; but made learning and science, as they always ought to be, and naturally are, the handmaids of religion; he was neither the slave nor the fautor of the Greek or Roman church, but the firm adherent of the church of Christ. To diffuse knowledge and piety, to awe the wicked and cherish the good, to exalt religion by enlightening and improving its votaries, to meliorate the condition of his species, to adore and magnify the names of his Creator and Saviour, were the chief objects and

* He has been complimented, or rather accused, of introducing the odious ceremony of auricular confession; but Egbert, archbishop of York, has fully acquitted him of this foul imputation; he did, however, introduce that general public confession previous to receiving the sacrament, which is still retained in the service of the church to the present day, and forms one of its most beautiful and most efficient characters of genuine piety, Christian humility, and mental devotion.

glory of his advanced life. " He changed," says Innet *, after Bede, " the whole face of the Saxon church, and did more towards enlarging the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury than all his predecessors." He might have added, that he did more to establish Christianity on an immutable basis in this country than any prelate since the apostolic age. Heterodox notions and lax discipline prevailing to a dangerous extent, he held a synod at Herutford (Hertford) in 673, where he presented the British bishops with a book of canons, which received their hearty approbation; and by the grandeur of his mind and benignity of his manner, gained the esteem and deference of every pious man in the country. In 680 he held another synod at *Haethfeld* to investiage the *Monothelites*. In the disputes of bishop Wilfred he was no less active; and when this bigot of the papal church appealed to Rome, a thing then equally novel and ludicrous, the court very properly laughed at him, and Theodore treated his Roman authority with the utmost contempt †, maintaining the judicious decrees of the councils, that " all controversies should be settled in the provinces where they arose, and that the authority of the metropolitans should be final and unappealable ‡."

The bishops of Rome, indeed, had not then assumed any superior power; they had never expected nor received any greater respect or authority than what necessarily attached to their reputation for learning and piety; hence the right to appeals was never conceived by them; and when appealed to, their decisions, as in the present instance, passed for nought. Theodore evidently acted, and felt himself perfectly independent §; he owed no obedience in spiritual matters to any power but that of heaven; loyal to his adopted sovereign, faithful to his conscience, zealous in the diffusion of divine truth, he called synods, deposed inefficient priests, consecrated bishops, and founded schools throughout the kingdoms. In the diocess of Wilfred he consecrated bishops Bosa of York, Eata of Hexham, Edhed of Lindsey, Trumberth of Hagulstad, and Cuthbert of Lindisfarn; instituted or restored, say Florence and Dicet, the bishoprics of Worcester, Lichfield, Leogerensem, and Dorchester. It has been observed, that he had " a bold and overbearing temper ||;" but with more truth that he " possessed the spirit of government ¶." He instituted schools,

* Bede, l. 4. Origines Anglicanæ.

† Baronius is greatly embarrassed to reconcile this conduct with Gregory's injunctions, and the supposed supremacy of the Romish see, and absolutely fabricates for him a legantine authority.

‡ Origines Anglicanæ.

§ See Dart's Antiq. Cant. Had he ever promised either directly or indirectly any obedience to the see of Rome, he would not have rejected the decree of the Roman synod respecting Wilfred, but unquestionably have obeyed it; yet no such thing appears: the idea of obedience is entirely modern, compared to the days of Theodore.

‖ Origin. Angl.

¶ Ant. Cant.

(h)

we should rather say colleges, in Canterbury, in other parts of Kent, and at Cricklade, near Oxford, where he and abbot Adrian "drew together large numbers of students, to whom they read lectures on divinity, philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and sacred music." Hence, as Birchington observes, he justly received the title *Magnus*. Such indeed was their extraordinary success in teaching, that the venerable Bede, a cotemporary and most respectable authority, assures us, that "many of their scholars were able to speak Greek and Latin with the readiness and fluency of their mother tongue." Among their pupils were Tobias bishop of Rochester, a *vir doctissimus*, Ostforus, or Ostfor, bishop of Worcester, Aldhelm bishop of Shirburne, a poet, and John of Beverly, archbishop of York. Of Theodore himself, a man no less learned than a friend to learning, there remained of all his writings only his *Penitentiale*, which has been considered a model of that kind of composition. Being advanced in years, he gave an example of Christian forgiveness, by sending for Wilfred, and offering him his friendship. His life, indeed, was a happy practical illustration of his religious principles; imitating the energy of St. Paul and the benevolent meekness of St. John, he directed our countrymen to the paths of both temporal and eternal happiness. To his memory we owe respect and gratitude; he brought into our island a most invaluable library of Greek * and Latin books, with several copies of the Scriptures, which happily survived the wreck of ages; he planted among us the language of the gospels, and sowed those seeds both of divine and human learning, which, under the blessing of Providence, have grown and flourished in our country, have exalted our religion, and consequently our morality, expanded our minds, embellished them with science, and added to our physical enjoyments the comforts of the arts. Those who unfortunately cannot relish the animated pious effusions of St. Chrysostom (which would have equally served religion and virtue, had they been less severe on women), may at least respect the man who brought the επεα πτερoεντα of Homer to our shores. In the time and by the exertions of Theodore, observes Malmesbury, learning so flourished in our island, that from "being a nursery (or nation) of tyrants, it became a peculiar seminary of philosophy." The present age bears ample evidence of the benign effects of Theodore's wisdom; the lessons of piety and learning which he left us may have been suppressed but were never annihilated; his example, contrary to that of all papal states, rendered religion and science inseparable friends, and from their peculiar union both have

* The copies of Homer, David's Psalms, and Chrysostom's Homilies brought by Theodore, were still extant at the beginning of the last century.

flourished in our country to an extent which it might seem presumptuous or invidious to contrast with other nations. The human mind, indeed, is not a plant that buds, flowers, and decays in a summer's sun; it requires the lapse of ages to develope its full powers, to convert the savage into the civilized man. This should teach us the value of education. Even in our city of Canterbury, the disinterested observer will recognize traces of that mellow maturity, which sufficiently indicates the happy effects of early civilization. For this we are deeply indebted to our good archbishop Theodore, who being old and full of days, expired in his eighty-eighth year, on the 19th September 690 *.

To the illustrious Theodore, the first truly protestant archbishop, we felt bound to pay our grateful tribute, convinced that if St. Paul, did not preach the gospel in our island, his townsman extended its influence and identified it with our soil. It is in vain that monks and friars have laboured to make him a papist, his learning and Christian piety had no affinity with idolatry, and his religious principles have descended unalloyed to Wickliffe, Greathead, Cranmer, and the present day. The see of Canterbury remained vacant till Brichtwald, Brithwald, or Berthwald, abbot of Reculver †, a learned Englishman, was elected in July 692. This prelate, although lost in the splendor of his great predecessor, was nevertheless an enlightened and good man, well versed, says Bede, in the scriptures, a decided enemy to papal influence, and a strict observer of religious duties. In 694 king Withred, at his instance, convened a council at *Beccanchild*, now Bapchild, for securing the church privileges and hierarchy without the interference of the civil power. Another was held at Berghamstead, where some arrangements were made respecting adultery. The case of Wilfred was also revived, and a synod deprived him of all his revenues, except the abbey of Rippon, when he again appealed to Rome, returned with the Pope's letters, had another synod called, which being overruled by an old woman, abbess Elfled, sister of king Alkfrid, Wilfred was reinstated. Brithwald is said to have held a council at London, respecting clerical celibacy and image-worship; but the whole is now admitted to be an infamous forgery. This archbishop occupied the see above thirty-eight years, and died in 731. Lambard very properly corrects Polydore, who states Brithwald to be the first native who aspired to this archiepiscopal see. Tatwine ‡, a Mercian, immediately succeeded

* Bede, l. 5. Theodorus, beatæ memoriæ archiepiscopus senex & plenus dierum, id est annorum octoginta et octo, defunctus est. The life of this eminent prelate with that of his disciples, is a subject worthy the pen of some man of learning and talents, who consults the good of society, and permanent rather than temporary fame.

† See Duncombe's Reculver; Nichols's Bibliothec. Topograp. Britan.

‡ Osbern calls him a monk of Boardney, Dicet a presbyter at Brendune, and Bede, who knew him and died nearly at the same time of Tatwine, calls him a presbyter of Briodus monastery.

him; he was an able theologian and wise prelate, who wrote on both sacred and prophane subjects; some of his poems and enigmas are still extant. He died in 734. Nothelm, a Londoner, was consecrated in 735, and died in 741; he assisted Bede in his history, particularly in what concerned Augustin, and the conversion of Kent, and was a prelate of great piety and learning. Pit, but without authority, says he wrote the life of St. Austin, some homilies and epistles to Bede and Alcuinus. Cuthbert, said to be of honourable descent, was next consecrated archbishop; he, we are told, imported the privilege by papal sanction of burying in church-yards, instead of the outside of cities, the road sides, in cemeteries, or sleeping places; but all the archbishops had been previously buried in St Augustine's, and the custom was gradually becoming general. In 747 he held the famous synod at Cliff, near Rochester, to restrain clerical licentiousness, and died in 758, after a reign of fifteen years, according to one historian, and of seventeen according to others. He was the first prelate of this see, who favoured the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, and in return has been extolled by Malmsbury and the monks; yet with his last breath he caused a deception to be practised on the Augustinians, by directing himself to be privately buried in the cathedral *, and not in their monastery. Brecwine, or Bregwine, who died in 762, was his successor. According to Bromton, his name was Lizegwinus, and said to be descended from a noble family in Saxony; but it seems more probable that he was a native of Canterbury †, being celebrated for his singular modesty and piety. He also was privately interred in St. John's. Jaenberght, or Lambert, abbot of St. Augustine, was chosen with the view of terminating the dispute between the monastery and the cathedral respecting the place of sepulture. He died in 790 or 791, and was buried in the abbey. During his prelature, Offa, king of Mercia, raised Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see, which his successor annulled. Athelard, or Ædelred, abbot of Malmsbury and bishop of Winchester, was consecrated in 793. He recovered the manor of Charing, and also the privileges of the archbishopric, and was excessively praised by pope Leo, and the monkish writers, who nevertheless all differ in stating the year of his death, making it 802, 3, 4, 5, and 6, the latter by Hovedon is the most probable date. His successor Vulfhred, or Wilfred, who appears to have been the first archdeacon, was remarkable only for enriching Christ Church, having either procured or presented to his see, says Battely, no less than twenty-nine pieces of land, or other benefactions.

* Thorn, Gervase, and Eadmer say he built a church to St. John Baptist, and was buried in it; but Godwin rejects the story.

† See Dart's Cant. p. 104.

During his prelature all the monks of Christ's Church died, except five; the date of his own death is differently stated by historians, as chronology and all other knowledge had then began to suffer a depression. It appears probable that he died in 831. The same year abbot Feolgeld, or Theolgild, was elected, but died at the end of three months. A still more sudden fate awaited Syred, or Siric, who died immediately after his election, so that he is not numbered among the archbishops. Ceolnoth, or Celnoth, succeeded, and experienced many difficulties from the barbarous invasions of the Danes, and the mortality of his monks, which obliged him to engage secular priests in the service of the cathedral. He died about 870, and Athelbred, or Ethelred, bishop of Winchester*, ascended the throne. He was, observes Dart, a "thorough-paced monk;" and without any regard to civil justice ejected the secular priests introduced by his predecessor, but was obliged to retain some, being unable to supply their place with monks, after the carnage of the latter by the Danes. Dying about 890, he was succeeded by Plegmund, a Mercian, from Cheshire, who had been a hermit, till discovered by king Alfred, and introduced to his court, in 886, where he is said to have read lectures on divinity, and conversed with the king on every leisure hour. Our see becoming vacant, he was nominated, and went to Rome, where he was well received by the pope, who had greatly favoured the Saxon school established by Alfred. Much has been said of his purchasing relics, &c. and bringing home a piece of the cross, which Edward the Confessor afterwards gave to Westminster; but he has better claims to our respect by his encouraging the erection of churches (a work not only of piety, but also of patriotism † and sociability), his calling synods, and consecrating at once seven bishops among the West Saxons. He was revered for his "wisdom, justice, prudence, *temperance*, and fortitude ‡," in the most perilous and calamitous moments of war and desolation. He crowned Edward, the son of Alfred, king of England, and died in 923. Athelm, bishop of Wells, was translated in 924, and died in the fourth year after; they who labour to pervert our church history to suit the papal hierarchy, have vainly called him a monk; but Bromton shews that he was undoubtedly a secular priest. Wlfelhm was the next archbishop; he held several synods, where laws were made

* Milner, Winchest. calls him Alforth, a prelate of great learning.

† An obvious truth may nevertheless be a neglected and sometimes abused one. The present age has seen this exemplified. "Aucun edifice," truly observes madam de Stael-Holstein, "ne peut etre aussi *patriotique* qu'une eglise; c'est le seul dans lequel toutes les classes de la nation se reunissent, le seul qui rappelle non seulement les evenemens publics, mais les pensees secretes, les affections intimes que les chefs et les citoyens ont apportees dans son enceinte. Le temple de la divinite semble present comme elle aux siecles ecoules." *De L'Allemagne*, tom. i.

‡ Anglia Sacra, vol. i.

for trials by ordeal, witchcraft *, &c. and died in 941. Odo, of Danish origin, succeeded; according to his biographer Osbern he was a a youth of parts, left desolate by his parents, taken by Athelm, a nobleman in Alfred's court, placed at one of the great Theodore's schools, where he acquired a competent knowledge of Greek and Latin, and finally became archbishop of Canterbury. Godwin conjectures that he had originally been a soldier, and was three times in battle; but Osbern suggests that his business in the field was, like Moses, only to hold up his hands in prayer for the Christians. He was surnamed *Severus*, for his extreme rigour; and most justly, if he was the actual cause of branding Elgiva with red hot irons; yet he was a supple courtier, if we may judge from his unpardonable conduct in crowning Edred, brother of the murdered king Edmund, to the prejudice of his two sons, Edwy and Edgar. He was a great favourer † of the monks, and died in 958. Elsine, bishop of Winchester, succeeded Odo, but was unfortunately frozen to death in the Alps, travelling to Rome for his pall. This very learned and virtuous prelate, called also Lippe, was a secular priest, a declared enemy of depraved monks, a friend to his abused sovereign and kinsman Edwy, and has consequently shared with his prince the malign censure ‡ of all monkish and jesuitic writers, from his own days down to Dr. John Milner. He is said to have called Odo an old dotard, but for what reason has not been assigned; had he been living, that of knave would have seemed more appropriate. Brithelm, bishop of Wells, falsely said to be a monk of Glastonbury §, was translated to Canterbury in 959, but king Edwy dying the same year, most probably by monkish machination, those cloistered traitors, who shewed no respect for regal, as readily trampled on archiepiscopal rights, and he was immediately driven from our metropolitan see. To cover this outrage, they accused him of incapacity, of not supporting the virtuous, nor restraining the vicious, yet Eadmer admits that he was a very modest, meek, and good man, and that he quietly passed the remainder of his days in his bishopric at Wells ||.

* See an excellent tract by sir Robert Filmer, "Difference between an English and Hebrew Witch," 1679, written in consequence of the execution of some witches in Kent.

† "There are many miracles to be read of him," observes Dart, "by such as are much in love with romance and improbability in Osbern. One I shall observe, of sufficient blasphemy too, told by Osbern and Gervaise. In order to convince some men who denied transubstantiation, *the wafer turned to flesh in Odo's hands, and dropped blood.* This horrid lie was to countenance Lanfranc's late book, in whose time Osbern lived, and carried the opinion of the real presence to a time when the English had never so much as heard of or allowed it, as Mr. Wharton observes." Hist. Cant. p. 109.

‡ His brother Edgar, who was notoriously a wretched profligate, has been sainted by monkish writers, who laboured to inculcate the infamous doctrine, "that as soon as any man puts on the habit of a monk all his former sins are forgiven;" hence princes eagerly became monks.

§ If we may credit Osbern, Life of Dunstan, speaking of Glastonbury, he affirms it was not then used as a monastery, and that the usage of convents and names of abbot had been long unheard of in England." Dart.

‖ Neither Somner nor Battely mention the name of Brithelm in their lists of archbishops,

In 960 or 961, the notorious Dunstan entered our archiepiscopal chair, which he occupied till death called him to another world in 988. The life and impostures of this man are unfortunately too well known, as the records of treason, cruelty, and hypocrisy in priests, or professors of religion, can never be advantageous to society. Nevertheless, Milner does not hesitate to affirm, that he was "eminent for piety, learning, the sciences, which are necessary for governing mankind; excelled in the liberal arts, particularly painting, carving, and music (the harp); the *most comprehensive genius* and the *greatest* and *best statesman* whom this nation ever produced!!!" We pass over his reported contests with the devil, and his miracles, well aware that it would be unjust to accuse him of the follies, blasphemies, and idolatries, since devised by monks, and proclaimed by friars; but we cannot overlook his treason to Edwy*, and his connivance at the much grosser crimes of Edgar. It were as easy to justify † the conduct of Judas Iscariot, as that of Dunstan in those respects. He had, says Dart, a very large share of superficial holiness and austerity, but we know not how to judge of what was under it. "If he was privy to the tricks and juggles which go under the name of miracles in his time, he must have been the vilest of impostors." Some of these it is difficult to acquit him of. Odo ‡ and Dunstan have been deified for violating the laws of God and nature, for persecuting even to death married men, an unnatural and impious measure, *indirectly* forbidden by St. Paul, and *directly* prohibited by St. Gregory. Ethelgar succeeded Dunstan, but lived little more than a year. Siricius, abbot of Augustine's, and bishop of Wilton, was translated to our see in 989; historians censure

and the former also omits that of Elsine. Dart seems to doubt that this Brithelm is the same as the bishop of Winchester (the successor of Elsine), whom Milner makes the architect of that cathedral, a native of Winchester, and builder or founder of Ely, Peterburgh, and Thorney; a man of talents, learning, and piety. (See Milner's Winch. vol. i. p. 159.) But they are evidently very different persons.

* Henry of Huntingdon, "who was no monk," speaks of Edwy and his reign as being decorous, laudable, and good. Rex autem predictus Edwi *non illaudabiliter* regni insulam tenuit. Edwi rex anno regni sui quinto cum in principio regnum ejus *decentissime* floreret, prospera & lætabunda exordia *mors immatura* perrupit. L. 5.

† Milner vainly attempts to justify the brutal outrage on Elgiva, by saying that Edwy was "a prey to a wicked woman of great beauty and high birth, being *nearly related to himself*, by name Algiva, who together with her grown-up daughter, inveigled and corrupted him to such a degree, as to cause him, soon after he had been crowned and anointed, to leave the coronation feast." Hist. Winch. p. 152. Now that being who could accuse or suspect a youth of thirteen of criminal connexion with a mother and daughter, *his relations*, must unite to the ignorance of a monk, the perverse soul of a jesuit, and the heart of an assassin. As to Odo, a Dane, he might retain some hereditary ferocity; but for Dunstan, whose only proof of talents is his obstinate cruelty, his memory must for ever be consigned to the execration of every Christian and rational being.

‡ In his Pastoral Letter, or Constitution, he writes, "I strictly *command* and charge, that no man presume to lay any tax on the possessions of the clergy, who are the sons of God, and the sons of God ought to be free from all taxes. If any man dares to disobey the discipline of the church in this particular, he is more wicked and impudent than the soldiers who crucified Christ. I *command* the king, the princes, and all in authority, to obey, with great humility, the archbishops and bishops, for they have the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c.

him as a bad politician for advising tribute to the plundering Danes. He died in 994, was succeeded by Alfric, Ælfric, or Aluric, who was educated at Abingdon, made abbot of St. Alban's, bishop of Wilton, and consecrated in Canterbury 995, and died 1005. He was a moral, pious, and learned man, who compiled several sermons and homilies, translated a great part of the scriptures into Saxon, and laboured during the dreadful wars with the Danes, to restore the ancient principles and discipline of the church *. Elphage, or Alfage, bishop of Winchester, was translated to our metropolitan see in 1006; about

* As the doctrines taught by the learned and pious archbishop Alfric, in his Homilies, are precisely those of the present church of England, although promulgated in the tenth century; they may be considered as forming a part of our metropolitan church history, and necessarily noticed here. The Lord's Prayer, Apostolic and Nicene Creeds, present no variations. Respecting the alleged superiority of Peter, we find the following very judicious exposition of our Saviour's words, directly opposing the papal pretensions: "The Lord said to Peter, thou art stony, for the strength of his belief and for the steadfastness of his confession, he took upon him that name. Because he submitted himself with a constant mind to Christ, who is called stone by St. Paul; *I will build my church upon this stone*, that is, upon the belief which thou confessest. All God's church is built upon this stone; that is, on Christ; for he is the ground-wall, the foundation of all the building of his own church. He that buildeth not upon this ground-wall, his work will fall to great ruin." Against the idolatry of worshipping saints and images, it is observed, "Get thee behind me, satan; it is written, man shall worship his Lord, and him only shall he serve. It is written in the old law, that no man shall pray to any thing, but to God alone; because no creature is worthy that honour, but he alone who is the maker of all things; to him only we ought to pray. He only is very Lord and very God. We desire intercession of holy men (who are living) that they will intercede for us to their Lord and our Lord. Nevertheless, we do not pray to them, as we do to God, nor will they suffer it, as the angel said to John the apostle, when he would have fallen at his feet, *Do it not: bow not thyself to me, I am God's servant as thou art, and thy brother: pray to God only.*" The preposterous doctrine of transubstantiation and the actual corporeal presence had no existence in our Saxon English church. "The eucharist is Christ's body, not corporeally but ghostly; not the body in which he suffered, but the body of which he spoke when he blessed bread and wine to the eucharist, one night before his suffering, and said of the blessed bread, *this is my body:* and again of the blessed wine, *this is my blood which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins.* Understand now, that the Lord who could turn that bread before his suffering to his body, and that wine to his blood, ghostly or spiritually, that the same Lord blesseth daily (or can bless) by the hands of the priest, bread and wine to his ghostly body and to his ghostly blood!" No words can be more clear, just, or pious; none more worthy an enlightened Christian expositor of this holy sacrament, than the above. The defence therefore of the church of England, against the false charges of papists, who pretend that we have deviated from the ancient faith, and introduced new doctrines, appears perfect and irresistible from this exposition. In addition to this, we shall subjoin the judicious remarks of the translator (E. Elstob), of the Saxon English Homily, on the birth-day of Gregory.

"From the instances given of the faith, worship, and discipline introduced by St. Augustine, and continued for so long a time in the Saxon English church, it will appear that we have inquired of Gregory concerning the faith transmitted to us; and find, to our great satisfaction, that we still retain it in the Apostles and Nicene Creeds, and in the Holy Scriptures. But he knew nothing of the Trent articles, neither do we acknowledge them. We have inquired of our elders Augustine and his assistants, what reverence was paid to the Roman see, and perceive that our ancestors paid that reverence which the Christian religion allows to a fellow-labourer, who pretended not to lord it over God's heritage, but must declare that neither they nor we ought to reverence an usurped supremacy and a corrupt church! We perceive also, that they then had, and we still retain, those two sacraments which Christ appointed in his church, agreeable to their intent, without the corruption of the mass and transubstantiation. We have those rites and ceremonies, free from all superstition, which are most reverend and decent in the service of God, keeping close to St. Gregory's directions to St. Augustine, and most convenient for the stile of our church. The altars which they erected, the heterodox have destroyed. We adhere to the original Catholic faith; the papists have added new and heterodox notions to the Christian belief, and impose them as articles of faith. They have forsaken the ways of their fathers St. Gregory and St. Peter, by bringing in so many novelties and absurdities; adopting all the errors, superstitions, images, and impieties of idolatry and transubstantiation, and those other blemishes which so much deface the Roman church at this day." P. lv.

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seven years after the Danes took and desolated this city, carried off the archbishop, and brought him to London, with the hope of getting ransom; but he nobly refused all their overtures, and after keeping him in prison some time, had him stoned to death at Greenwich, in May 1012. He has been canonized as a martyr. Living, Elfstane or Athelstane, next succeeded from the see of Wells; during the barbarous incursions of Swane and the Danes, he dastardly fled from his distressed flock to the continent. When Canute was crowned, he returned, and became a great benefactor to his cathedral, repairing the roof and other parts which the Danes had burned, by piling combustible matter in barrels one above another. He died in 1020, and was succeeded by Ethelnoth or Agelnoth, son of earl Egalmare, and a Gastonbury scholar. When at Rome for his pall, he is said to have purchased the arm of Augustine, bishop of Hyppo, for 100 talents of silver, and one of gold. The abbey of Reculver, granted by king Edred to Christ Church in 949, remained undissolved till the prelacy of the good Ethelnoth. He had considerable influence over Canute, and directed him to works of piety and munificence. According to Harpsfield, he was very faithful to his word, and refused to crown Harold, because he had promised to Canute to crown none but the children of Emma. He died in 1038, and Eadsius or Eadsin, became our metropolitan. Of the origin of this prelate, little is known that merits confidence; he was a secular priest and chaplain to Canute. After his consecration, it is alleged that he was afflicted with disease, and by the intrigues of earl Godwin, and the weakness of Edward Confessor, Siward, an abbot of Abingdon, was imposed on him as his coadjutor. The latter was called bishop, but he dying, Eadsius reassumed his archiepiscopal dignity, and died 1050. During the intrusion of Siward, he was so ill provided for in his retirement, that he complained of wanting sufficient maintenance, probably, observes Innet, for his disposition to favour the Danish interest. Robert, a monk, who had insinuated himself into the favour of Edward, during his exile on the continent, came to this country, was made bishop of London, and translated to Canterbury in 1050, or 1051. As a specimen of gratitude to his patron and benefactor, king Edward, he intrigued with the Norman faction, in consequence of which, Godwin accused him of fomenting divisions, and he was outlawed. He fled to France, and died in the monastery of Gemetica, in 1052. Stigand, a true Englishman, bishop of Winchester, succeeded. To depict the real character of this great and good man, would far exceed our limits; the abuse which the monks and papal writers down to Milner of the present day, have heaped on him, pre-

sents a melancholy specimen of fanaticism and malignity. He refused to crown William, even at his particular request, observing (say Hemingford, Wykes, and all but monkish writers), that "he would not set the crown upon the head of a murderer and usurper." The perfidious William, however, meanly concealed his resentment until he had secured his power, and then Stigand was committed to prison in Winchester, where he died. Nevertheless, his firmness contributed to preserve many of the Kentish privileges, which the Norman could not annul. He has been accused of simony and covetousness; the former even before he had money, according to his accusers, to pay; and the latter is sufficiently disproved, by his liberality to the churches of Ely and Canterbury. To sum up his character, says Dart, "he lost his see for not being a bigot to the court of Rome; his liberty, for not being a traitor to his country; and his reputation, for not being a monk. The first, by the greatest monster that ever held the keys; the second, by the greatest tyrant and usurper that ever swayed the English sceptre; and the last, by the most shameless set of men, that ever wrote on history, who have been so cruel as to affirm his death to be the same as Judas's, *i. e.* that his bowels gushed out."

The Norman invasion had now revolutionized the country; foreign adventurers, who accompanied William, filled almost every place of honour or emolument *; the genius and skill of Englishmen were depreciated, and arrogant beings, stimulated only by rapacity and matchless impudence, were invested with authority to direct and rule Britons. Agreeable to this system, Stigand was deposed, persecuted, and calumniated; and Lanfranc, a native of Pavia, in Italy, the son of a lawyer, and a lawyer himself, was consecrated metropolitan of all England, in 1070. This "briefless barrister," finding that the profession of monk was more advantageous than the bar, emigrated from Italy to France, where he was in several monasteries; became professor of theology and arts at Avranches, and seized the ladder of exaltation, by espousing the doctrine of corporal presence, in answer to Berengarius, archdeacon of Angers. This insured him the pope's favour; and, consequently, that of the bastard duke of Normandy, who sought papal aid to secure his power. His conduct, as metropolitan, was very arbitrary; deposing bishops, and turning out all clergymen who were too honest and intrepid to approve of Norman spoliation. He framed laws † for the monks, issued the most cruel and unnatural de-

* So that, as Innet justly observes, except Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, and Siward of Rochester, "there was not one bishop in England, before the end of 1070, who was not in the Norman interest." Orig. Angl. vol. ii.

† There is a striking similarity in the idolatrous rites of all ages and nations. The monotonous sterility of men's imagination in devising new modes and objects of worship, presents one of the most unanswerable arguments in behalf of the divine inspiration of the

crees against married priests, obliging them to abandon their wives and children; and endeavoured, by every means, to lay a load of obedience to the pope upon the shoulders of Englishmen. He wished to influence the conqueror to his measures, but William was too absolute* and too successful, observes Dart, to be lured or threatened to own the papal authority. His greatest and best act was the repairing of his cathedral, which he did not live to complete, and died in 1089. He nobly resisted Odo, bishop of Baieux, William's brother, then earl of Kent, and obliged him to cede some property, belonging to the see, which he had rapaciously seized. Anselm, a friend, and fellow adventurer with Lanfranc, and a native of *Augusta*, now Aouste, in Piedmont (not Burgundy), was consecrated archbishop in 1093, after the king had held the see three years vacant. He had been abbot of Bec†, and accompanied an earl of Chester to this country. His disputes with Rufus and Henry I. are recorded in the general history of England, his banish-

Scriptures. The greater part of the papal ceremonies are either caricatures, or imperfect imitations of those adopted by the Roman pagans. Thus, we find in the statutes and ordinances given by Lantranc to his Benedictine monks, a chapter on blood-letting, *de sanguinis minutione*, which bears much analogy to what Gellius relates of the punishment of Roman soldiers, who were ordered to be bled as a remedy either for sluggish drowsiness, or stupidity, in neglect of discipline or duty. According to these laws, the monks must first ask leave to let blood, which cannot be granted at certain solemn seasons (unless in cases of immediate necessity), when their absence from the public service of their church was not to be dispensed with. But permission being obtained, the hour was to be notified to the cellarer of the convent (an important person among *abstemious* monks), and those to be bled were to attend at the places destined for this purpose, where several irrational and superstitious ceremonies were ordered to be performed on the occasion. Afterwards, they were to appear before the prior and chapter, and it being then openly pronounced that such and such a friar or brother had blood taken from him, the monk was to stand up (especially if a vein in the arm had been opened) and speak for himself. If he had been guilty of a slight offence, it should be forgiven; but if it was of such a nature as could not be passed over without corporal punishment, then its infliction was deferred till he had recovered better health and strength after the loss of blood. This regulation, justly observes Battely, is "somewhat mystical, and perhaps designedly so, that the reputation of the members of the convent might be preserved from being publicly charged with irregularities and foul enormities. Such things were, like the rites of *Ceres*, religiously to be concealed. But it seems plain that the want of having blood taken, was frequently occasioned by intemperance and excess. When the lord high steward and his retinue had officially attended at an enthronization-feast of an archbishop, it was one branch of his accustomed right and fee, which he claimed on going away, to stop three days at one of the nearest manors of the archbishop to be bled, after the high feeding and excessive drinking at that feast."

* Nevertheless, William had so much confidence in his talents, that he appointed him sole justiciary of England every time he went to the continent. See Lambard's *Tertus Roffensis*, archbishop Parker and Brown's *Fasc. Rerum*, where Lanfranc is called *Princeps et custos Angliæ*.

† The works of Anselm have suffered much less from monkish interpolations than those of Theodore, whose *Pœnitentiale*, by Petit, has been filled with scandalous sentences. Anselm's dissertations on the Evangelists and Apostles, and on free will, although enveloped in a scholastic jargon, contain judicious observations: his 153 *Ares* or stanzas to the "Queen of Heaven," (see this idolatry condemned, Jeremiah vii. 18. and xliv. 17.) are less obscene than those of some more modern poets; his chapters 8 and 14, in tom. iii. indeed, are grossly indecent. It is worthy of remark, that as extremes meet, many of his sentiments appear to have been adopted by the Puritans; and Butler has commemorated them in his Hudibras with admirable humour. But the great feature in the character of Anselm is, that of a sycophant before he obtained power; and a haughty despot afterwards: his flattery to Lanfranc is equally disgusting and blasphemous. In his letters to him, he always interweaves some artful touch of base adulation; such as, "your divine disposition," "your wisdom," &c. He affected extreme humility, and styled himself *servus servorum Dei*; and, after his expulsion from the kingdom, instead of archbishop, he wrote—"servus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis;" yet, he was one of the

ment and return; the king's giving up the right of investiture to the pope, and retaining only the nomination to sees, are also known by their deplorable effects. Till the reign of Rufus and Urban, the episcopal investiture of the staff and ring had been the ancient usage, and undisputed privilege of our kings; but this right being lost to the crown, and the celibacy * of priests established, the clergy became a distinct class, wholly independent, either of the king or the country, of all civil law, and willing instruments in the hands of a papal despot: hence, our ill-fated country was long the prey of foreign wolves, till the glorious epoch of the reformation rescued it, we hope, for ever, from the miseries of foreign domination, idolatry, superstition, and ignorance.

Although Lanfranc, Anselm, and other Italian or French archbishops were devoted to the pope, they nevertheless opposed him, whenever their personal consequence was concerned, a proof of the real spirit by which they were actuated. Thus Anselm, feeling his own importance diminished by the presence of Guido, archbishop of Vienna, a legate in this country, immediately opposed his residence here, as a usurpation, and actually compelled that prelate to leave England. Again, he found, that the celibacy of the clergy made them subservient to his purpose; and in 1108 he enforced, at Westminster, a decree †, which he had procured about six years before, for the more rigorous observance of celibacy, for the separation of husband‡ and wife, in defiance of the direct injunctions of the Scriptures; and for preventing all married clergymen from officiating until they had repudiated their wives! Not content with introducing and inculcating this odious principle, he actually enforced it with a degree of brutal ferocity, which impelled

vainest men that ever lived, permitted his inferior clergy to *kiss* his *feet*, and allowed the pope (perhaps in jest) to call him "the pope and apostle of another world!" John of Sarisb.—A Sardinian ambassador to George II. made, with permission, an abortive attempt in the cathedral to procure some of Anselm's bones for his master to worship.

* It is worthy of remark, that this device, like the worship of "the queen of heaven," and all the other antichristian superstitions, introduced by the popes, is precisely one of those plagues inflicted on the Jews for their idolatry; the curse of celibacy is pronounced on them, as a judgment for their disobedience. See Psal. 78, 63: Jerem. 7, 34; 16, 9; 25, 10; and Revelat. 18, 23; in the latter it unquestionably applies to the abomination of Rome.

† The passing of this decree is a direct and incontrovertible proof, that clerical celibacy had not originally prevailed in the Saxon-English church, contrary to the false allegations of Lingard (Antiquit. Saxon church) and other popish enemies of human nature. The unblushing impudence with which the existence of celibacy among the Saxons was asserted, had almost deluded some enlightened Protestants. See *Quarterly Review*, No. 19.

‡ At the very time the English bishops were presumptuously making such atrocious laws, the clergy in Spain were not only allowed to have wives, but even concubines (*barraganas*)! There is much analogy between these nefarious institutions, both being equally injurious to society, and both unnatural. The Spanish clerical polygamists, however, were subject to more regulations than represented in the Edinburgh Review, No. 43, Oct. 1813; where the reviewer, notwithstanding his professed friendship for what is vulgarly called "catholic emancipation," (*i. e.* the exaltation of superstition and ignorance, without those moral obligations required from science and religion), depicts the Spanish papists in no very favourable colours. The critic, indeed, betrays much ignorance of the Spanish laws; and strangely confounds the historian Don Juan de Mariana with Dr. Don Francisco Martinez y Marina, author of an essay on *la Antigua Legislacion de Leon y Castilla*.

the monk, Matthew Paris, to express his surprise that the king suffered such atrocious outrages on humanity and civil justice. Even the pope Paschal himself disapproved of his conduct in this respect, and advised him to let such of the married clergy, as were sons of the clergy, live in peace; a just panegyric on them, which deserves to be recorded, to the disgrace and shame of the celibataires,—"*That the* GREATEST *and* BEST *of the clergy were the* SONS *of the clergy.*" To Anselm has been attributed the merit of re-building a great part of our cathedral; but when we consider, that his ambition and ill-nature kept him in a state of continual warfare, we cannot believe that he bestowed much expense on an edifice, the honours of which he plainly perceived he was not likely to enjoy. The king, according to Dicet, required from him a thousand pounds for the archbishopric; and, likewise, says Bromton, levied on him annual contributions, which made him at first hesitate in accepting the primacy. Anselm died in 1109, in his seventy-sixth year*: and his unchristian stubbornness, being very injurious to the cause of religion, the king received the revenues of the see five years, till 1114, when Ralph or Radulphus, bishop of Rochester, was translated hither. He was so indecorously facetious, that he was called "the Jester;" but he took his investiture from the king, contrary to the papal injunction, yet received his pall with an oath of canonical obedience to the Pope, a thing before unknown. He died in 1122, and was succeeded, in a few months, by W. Corboil†; who, it is said, crowned Stephen, contrary to his oath to the empress Maud, which preyed so incessantly on his mind, that he died shortly after, in 1136. He was duped into the office of legate; the pope artfully bestowing on him the title of "Legate of the Apostolical See," when he wrote to him, opposing the appointment of any such officer in England. He "beautified" his cathedral, re-dedicated it to Christ, and

* "In the reign of Henry VII. he was," observes a very judicious and accurate cotemporary writer, "*most absurdly* canonized, for 'his piety and sufferings,' at the intercession and great expense of archbishop Morton."—Brayley's Kent, 783. A chapel (see pl. II.), on the south-east side of the choir, still retains his name. Over this chapel is a room, which Gostling and King supposed had been used as a prison for the criminal monks. A writer in the Gent. Mag. opposed this notion, alleging that the fire-place in it was for baking the sacramental wafers; but as no ovens are used for such a purpose, Gostling's opinion is the more plausible. Very probably it was occasionally occupied by the abandoned female, who, in convents, is technically called "the prior's niece," a practice sufficiently common in all ages of monastic superstition.

† During his primacy, the cardinal John de Crema arrived in this country as papal legate, and held several councils, enforcing, by the most cruel measures, clerical celibacy: this foreign miscreant, however, was himself caught with a woman of the town; and so public was the transaction, that he was obliged to steal away out of the country. Rudborn, Gervase, M. Paris, and all the monks, as well as more impartial chroniclers, relate the disgraceful fact. Another historian states, that this worthy legate, "in a speech to the council, at Westminster, inveighed against the lewdness and immorality of those churchmen, who lived in a state of matrimony, affirming it to be 'the height of impiety for a priest to make the body of Christ, 'when he had lately risen from the side of a prostitute;' (for such was the appellation this licentious bigot bestowed on the wives of the clergy). In the evening of the same day, the cardinal himself, after he had administered the eucharist, was detected in the arms of a professed courtezan!"

built the priory church of St. Martin, Dover*. In 1138, Theobald, abbot of Bec, was consecrated archbishop; he was a firm supporter of the papal usurpation, experienced many troubles, was rather a steady than an enlightened man, a ferocious misogamist, governed his monks sternly, and in ecclesiastical matters, a most violent bigot; yet, in other respects, humane and charitable. A famine having occurred, during the quarrels of Stephen and Henry, he sold the church ornaments to relieve the poor. He was a man of little learning, and died of old age, in 1161†. The notorious Becket was the next archbishop, who joined the popes in the iniquitous conspiracy "to fix on the neck of the whole western world, the iron yoke of servitude, and the abominations of idolatry." Thomas Becket was the son of a London merchant by a Syrian woman; his life has been often written by friends, enemies, and impartial observers, and in all of them ingratitude and treachery appear to be his least faults. His death, in 1170, in our cathedral ‡, was perhaps entirely owing to his own malignant passions, as the persons who attacked him probably only designed to give him a severe chastisement, but not to take his life, had he not menaced and insulted them, calling Fitz-Urse a pimp, &c. This is acknowledged even by Edward Gryme or Ryme, the priest who accompanied him, and who received a severe wound in the arm attempting to save the sacerdotal malefactor. After the death of Becket, the performance of divine service was suspended a whole year, and the building suffered to lie under the dirt and filth occasioned by the multitudes of curious or superstitious spectators who visited it from all parts. This neglect of public worship was certainly not a very pious mode of expiating crimes, however it might be agreeable to the papal system. The men who put this imperious prelate to death, went to Rome and received absolution § from the pope, a most convenient way of atoning for murder. The see being vacant above three years, Richard, prior of

* "In 1132 he laid, without the walls, the foundation of the priory," says Lyon, "and had it, with all its extensive buildings, finished in four years. The canons of St. Martin were accused of behaving indecently to single and married women, both within and without the walls of the town; to the crime of gallantry, they added worldly cares, temporal pursuits, dissipations, and the wasting of their revenues in extravagant luxuries." See rev. Mr. Lyon's excellent History of Dover, vol. i.

† The tomb (see plate 2.) ascribed to him by Godwin, but denied by subsequent writers, seems to be of somewhat earlier date.

‡ The north end of the western transept is still called the Martyrdom, and an oblong square marble stone remains in the floor, with a small piece of stone, about four inches square, inserted in it; where, according to the traditions, some of Becket's brains fell; and which were cut out, with a piece of the stone, and carried to Rome as a sacred relic. Other stones, stained with his blood, were carried to Peterborough. The miracles which this extraordinary stone has wrought, and which are just as true as all other papal miracles, would require a ponderous volume to detail them. The stone is of the same quality as the greater part of the pavement of the cathedral,—a russet yellow marble, clouded or striped with white. It is susceptible of a fine polish, and is a stratified carbonate of lime, the *chaux carbonatee concretionee stratiforme* of Hauy and the French mineralogists.

§ The papal legendists pretend that they were haunted, during the remainder of their lives,

after; and was deified in 1245. At the instance of queen Eleanor the stubborn monks elected her uncle Boniface, son of the duke of Savoy, archbishop; he was confirmed in 1243, and enthronized * in 1249. This prelate paid the debts of his predecessors, amounting to 22,000 marks, by obtaining a year's rent of all the vacant livings in his diocese: he founded a college at Maidstone; but, as he was no friend to the monks, they have represented him as an illiterate, haughty, overbearing, and most rapacious man; universally hated; and once in danger of being killed in London, "for beating the prior of St. Bartholomew's, at a pretended visitation †." He "fled with his spoil to his own country," where he died in 1270. Yet Birchington says he was a great friend to the poor. Robert Kilwardy, a Dominican friar, contrary to the will of the monks, was appointed by the pope to this see ‡ in 1272: he was a sturdy partizan of the Dominicans; built Black-Friars, in London; and obtained some celebrity as an orator, logician, and critic. In 1277, the pope made him a cardinal, when he resigned his see, and retired, after collecting 5000 marks, to Italy; where he died shortly after, supposed by poison. In 1279 John Peckham was likewise raised to our see by the pope, contrary to the election of Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath, and the wish of the king. He was a Franciscan; but his exaltation was a mere act of rapacity, in order to extort money; for the pope threatened him with excommunication, if he did not pay him 4000 marks §. He was a man of learning, founder of the college at Wingham, tolerably well disposed, and severe only to adulterers. In 1292 he died, and was succeeded the following year by Robert Winchelsey ||, who was educated in the grammar school of this city¶, was one of the greatest friends to litera-

* The reader who wishes to know more of the pompous and irrational ceremonies of enthronization, as it was called, may consult Somner's and Battely's Antiquities.

† Ducarel alleges, that to atone for this outrage, he built (rather repaired) Lambeth palace. See Nichols' history; and more particularly Brayley's "Concise Account of Lambeth Palace," 4to. 1806; containing many curious plates, coloured and gilded portraits, &c.; with views of the Lollard's tower and prison, where so many unfortunate "heretics" were tortured, &c. The present archbishop, Dr. Manners Sutton, has generously purchased a neat residence near Croydon, called Addington House, for the future use of his see.

‡ King Edward refused him the temporalities, until he could make a public protestation, at a council in Westminster, that the grant was of his own "mere grace and favour, and not from any right;" the pope having rejected William Chillenden (who was elected by the monks), "contrary to his prerogative, to the laws of the realm, and to the liberties of the English church."

§ The archbishop was accustomed to call the pope's letter, containing this atrocious menace, in the true spirit of a highwayman,—*litera horribilis in aspectu et auditu terribilis.* He also had 5000 marks to pay for his predecessor, and 2000 for his enthronization.

‖ In 1295, he was vulgarly insulted by two papal legates, who arrived in this country to settle a dispute between the English and French kings, by being obliged, in return for his hospitality, to make his cross-bearer lower his cross, that theirs might be exalted. *Ducarel's Croydon.* The archiepiscopal palace at Croydon, once the asylum of learning, piety, and hospitality, is now in ruins; the grand entrance-arch only remaining, with the hall, which is at present used as a drying-loft to the adjoining bleachfield, where cloth is bleached without science, as the house is inhabited without civility.

¶ It is not improper here to confirm the remark, made p. (*k*), by adverting to the many good and great men, who were born and educated in this city or its vicinity, and whose names

(*aa*)

ture, the most humane and charitable to the poor, and altogether a prelate of distinguished learning, talents, and virtues; his quarrels with the king appear to have originated in his dislike of innovation, and other social virtues, which perhaps would have been less equivocal had he shewn less zeal for the paramount authority of the church. He died in 1313; and such was his beneficence to the poor, that his memory escaped the last disgrace, that of papal deification.

We have now brought the history of our metropolitan see, to the period when it and Christ Church priory lost the absolute control of ecclesiastical affairs in this country. The unbounded ambition of the popes, and the introduction of regularly organized bodies of propagandists, under various denominations of friars, and with them the abominable rite of auricular confession*, soon effected a revolution in the hierarchy. Luxury and effeminacy had somewhat impaired the ardour† of the monks or cloistered friars‡; the archbishops' § influence sunk,

are recorded in the annals of society, as statesmen, warriors, divines, philosophers, and poets. It is equally worthy of notice, that they all evinced extraordinary probity and benevolence, as well as genius: thus, sirs P. Sidney, T. Randolph, F. Walsyngham, H. Wotton, the ancient architect; T. Wyatt, first English versifier of the psalms; and admiral Rooke (whose monument appears in our cathedral, and whose great character is fairly appreciated in Campbell's Lives of the Admirals); general Wolfe, bishops Gunning and Fletcher, deans Comber and Spencer, the great Dr. Harvey, the antiquary and Saxon lexicographer, Somner; the naturalist, Dr. Plott; and Dr. Fludd, who first made a telescope in this country; the mathematicians, Billingsley (lord mayor of London), and Wallis; with Hawkesworth, Theobald, Smart, Mrs. Carter, &c. whose lives illustrate the sentiment of our national dramatist—

"Kent, in the Commentaries Cæsar writ,
Is term'd the *civil'st* place of all this isle;
Sweet is the country, because full of riches,
The people liberal, valiant, active, wealthy."

* For a correct notion of the hideous consequences of "this instrument of crimes and source of hypocrisy;" to which is "attributed nearly all the crimes committed by the community in Sicily," see Blaquiere's Letters, i. 190-3, 8vo. 1813.—"Even in confession plotting sins anew."

† Gibbon, in his famous chapter on "monastic life," observes, with more truth than usual, "a cruel unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country; their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is influenced by religious (superstitious) hatred, and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the inquisition." We concur, however, with a most ingenious and learned defender of the Christian faith, who has ably exposed the puerilities of unitarianism, that Gibbon's work, independent of his gross obscenity, "appears, not a faithful impartial history, but a disgusting tissue of misrepresentations and falsehoods, disguised under studied embellishments of language, and dictated by pride, ignorance, and malice." Jones's Ecclesiast. Researches, proving Philo and Josephus Christians, and apologists of the faith. We hope this writer will not forget that orthodoxy and sound judgment, in every department of knowledge, are much more intimately allied than vulgarly supposed.

‡ For the sake of brevity, and to avoid repetition, all cloistered religious are in this work indiscriminately called, according to the usage of convents, monks or friars; the term *friar* signifying brother; every monk is a friar, but every friar is not a monk. When any particular order of friars is mentioned, then they are called after their order or dress, as Dominican, black, white, &c. friars. This is consistent with the practice of religious cenobites, who never say monk John, or monk Thomas, but friar John, &c.

§ The importance of the "primate and metropolitan of all England," originally "by the grace of God," latterly "by Divine Providence, archbishop of Canterbury," may be estimated from the following subordinate officers, in papal times; "the bishop of London was considered as his dean in the college of bishops, his office being to summon councils; the bishop of Winton, his chancellor; the bishop of Sarum was his precentor, to begin the service when he was present; the bishop of Worcester was his chaplain; and Rochester his cross-bearer; and he contended strenuously for the same obedience from the archbishop of York, as he himself paid to the see of Rome." Hasted's Kent, Selden's Titles, and Parker's Antiq. He was also denominated *patriarch*, from his jurisdiction extending over England, Scotland, Ireland, and the

as that of the popes rose, and new orders of friars appeared, no less hungry, ambitious, energetic, and rapacious, than the Norman invaders. The conflicts of jarring interests, the undisguised efforts of knavery and folly, present little to engage the attention of the philosophical inquirer, and still less the feelings of the benevolent Christian. Auricular confession had extirpated every sentiment of chastity from the female heart*; and ignorance and papal tyranny had reached that point of excess, which henceforward contributes to effect their own downfal. From this scene of human degradation we turn, with pleasure, to retrace that of human ingenuity, in the natural history of one of the first religious edifices extant.

Notwithstanding the numerous histories which have been written of Christ Church cathedral and priory, there is still much unknown respecting its origin and condition, previous to the Norman invasion. No writer mentions the first erection of a church where our cathedral now stands; but many authors suppose, with great probability, that the original building had been a temple, used by the Christians in the Roman army; that it had afterwards been converted into the service of idols by the Saxons; and finally given by Ethelbert to Augustine, for the purpose of a Christian church. It is not however presumed, that this same building remained perfect from the days of the Romans till those of the Normans; on the contrary, some edifice must have been erected here in the 7th or 8th century; and the strongest probability is, that archbishop Theodore, and abbot Adrian, the Carthaginian, commenced the work, which might be finished by archbishop Bregwine about 760 †. Gostling, indeed, and several other judicious

Anglo-gallic provinces; hence the appellation, "patriarch's chair," a seat composed of three stones, in the form of a chair, which still exists in the eastern end of the cathedral. The archbishopric once possessed sixty knights' fees, or 40,000 acres, as a barony. See Madox.

* For the consequences, see Bowles's admirable "Remarks on Female Manners." 2d edit.

† Ledwich, and other antiquaries, on the authority of a passage in Osbern, have dated its origin in 742; the former author considers the undercroft an "Iseum, or chapel of Isis, or an early imitation of Roman models." Archaeol. v. 180. Among the ornaments still existing we recognised some very similar to those on the ruins of edifices at Carthage (Shaw's Travels in Barbary), and may have been imitated by Adrian. One of the Terracotas in the British Museum, No. 36, exhibits a curious specimen of two circular arches, with spiral fluted columns, having central bands, and a kind of billet ornament along the upper moulding of the arch, while the subjects beneath are all Egyptian, being the Nile, a boat, crocodiles, ibises, and a round house, with a circular headed door, like the ancient German houses on Trajan's column. Whoever compares these ornaments with those in our cathedral, will perceive the analogy. These facts tend to confirm the opinion of Ledwich, that the figures on the capitals in the undercroft are of Egyptian origin. This terracota, however, is supposed of Etruscan manufacture. A Syriac MS. of the Evangelists, written A. D. 586, has several figures of circular arches, with zigzag and billet ornaments, with foliated capitals, the leaves being split into a triangle at the base. Ledwich describes the figures on the capitals in the undercroft as an aelurus, or Egyptian cat, an ill-formed hawk killing a serpent, an Egyptian gryphon, a gladiator and lion, a horseman with a cap and trowsers, a sheep, a Roman equestrian figure, a double-headed anubus bestriding a double-headed crocodile, a man sitting on the head of another, and holding a fish and cup, a bird destroying a crocodile, a satyr on two deers, two birds on a Roman masque, a monster, having a cock's head, winged shoulders, body human, and playing with a bow on a violin; below it is a scalene triangle, opposite is a grotesque blowing a trumpet, the head and horns like a goat, posteriors human; these he considered Egyptian hieroglyphics, the import of which is ex-

observers, consider the origin of the undercroft to be co-eval with that of Grymbald's crypt at Oxford, believed to be erected in the 9th century*. The similarity of the figures on the capitals of the columns has sanctioned this notion, which we feel no anxiety to controvert. Yet, although we have nothing but analogy and circumstances to support any opinion respecting the original church, and the erection of the present undercroft, the monk Edmer has given us an imperfect description of its primitive form. It appears to have been very simple, nearly a parallelogram, with two towers or entrance porches on its north and south side, very near its west end; at the east end was a part raised on arches, and terminating circularly, over which were two altars and a presbyterium. Under this elevated part was a crypt or undercroft, the floor of which was level with that of the choir, nave, and the entrance porches or transept, near the west end. At the extremity of the west end was another altar and archbishop's chair, somewhat raised above the floor of the nave and choir. Such was the plan of the ancient building, from which the present edifice gradually arose. That the floor of the undercroft was originally level with the adjacent grounds, cemetery gateway, &c. cannot be doubted. It is equally certain, that the existing buildings, from the western transept to Trinity chapel, as well as the north-west tower at the west end, were constructed long prior to the Norman invasion †. We know, from Osbern, that Odo, in 938, repaired the walls ‡, and covered the whole roof with lead; which, as justly observed by Mr. Dallaway §, "is a very early instance of such an application of that metal." That Lanfranc, however, exerted himself to repair the building cannot be doubted; but as the walls of the choir are crooked, and otherwise marked with innovation, it is evident that they could not be built, as we now see them, by the same architect ||.

plained by Porphyry, Tertullian, &c. Figures, not very dissimilar, lately existed in Xerez de la Frontera, and were ascribed to the Moors, yet it is probable that all of them may have had one common origin.

* Mr. Denne and Mr. Essex, two very respectable judges, consider it of a prior date. (Archaeol. x.). Mr. Malcolm, Gent. Mag. for September 1813, gives a view of the pillar placed under the centre of an arch, in order to support it, as an undoubted work of Lanfranc; and certainly the pillar is more modern than the arch. The curious fillet ornament, on the south wall, outside, is ascribed to Odo by Mr. Denne.

† "The walls of the choir, even at this moment, have marks sufficient to justify the opinion, that they were built before the days of Anselm, or his predecessor Lanfranc. If we ascribe the removing and raising the altar, the pavement at that part with beautiful and costly stones, the adding the west cross isle and nave, and building the angel steeple (now called Bell-harry), to Anselm; and the priors Ernulph and Conrad, and the magnificent finishing of the whole, by the last of these, after Ernulph was made abbot of Peterborough, and the archbishop dead, I trust reason and history will join in confirming our opinion." *Gostling.*

‡ "The Danes," observes Gostling, "to destroy the roof, with which Odo had covered in this church, set fire to it by piling up wooden vessels for that purpose. This shews that if, before the Norman invasion, most of our monasteries and churches were of wood, all were certainly not so."—Egelnoth repaired the devastation of the Danes.

§ Wild's Canterbury, p. 2.

‖ The misapplication of terms by monkish authors, certainly one of their most venial

(dd)

It is true, some able writers* have called all the parts of this building, with Saxon arches, the work of Lanfranc; but this is satisfactorily answered by referring to the short period of only seven years, which Edmer says he was in completing it †. Others again, presuming that all the conflagrations ‡ which this cathedral has experienced, always occasioned a new re-edification, give it even a much more recent origin § than the days of Lanfranc ‖. Accordingly, historians attribute the choir and its aisles to William Senensis, a professional architect, about 1180; who, being severely wounded by a fall on the building, returned to the continent to recover his health; the work which he had begun was finished by William Anglus, or the Englishman, one of the first natives recorded after the conquest, as a professor of the building art. To this same William Englishman is attributed the building of the eastern transept, Trinity chapel, and Becket's crown, about 1184. During the priorship of Henry de Estria, was erected the admirable screen at the west end of the choir ¶.

errors, has evidently misled many respectable modern writers, who have hence inferred, that the Normans were the architects of all our buildings. Thus, when Edmer says, that Lanfranc (not a Norman, but an Italian, like most of William's prelates,) built our cathedral *a fundamentis*, he could only mean, as observed by Mr. Dallaway, that he repaired it from the ground upwards. Gostling translates the passage very properly, "almost from the foundation."

* Brayley's Kent. As an instance of the influence of popular prejudice or habit, it may be observed, that many intelligent writers have called the architect, William Senensis, "William of Sens, in Normandy;" whereas Sens is in Champagne: could we rely on the orthography of this name, it clearly indicates him to be of Sienna in Italy, and not Sens in France. As to the erroneous term, "Norman architecture," it has been fully abandoned, by the acknowledgement of a writer in the Gent. Mag. for Dec. 1818, p. 536.

† More has been ascribed to Lanfranc than he merited, as appears from Somner: "I read," says he, "that archbishop L. was a great benefactor to the repair of the city walls.—So saith Mr. Lambard, and so Stow, followed by Speed. But no other story mentions it; no, not that of his life and acts, written by archb. Parker."

‡ According to Gervase, it suffered considerably by fire at three different times, in 1011, in 1061, and in 1174; the latter destroyed "Conrad's glorious choir;" the "lead from the roof was melted into the joints of the pavement, as appeared at the paving of the choir, about 1706, when some alterations being made in the pavement, as much of that lead was picked up by some of the workmen as made two large glue-pots."—Gostling.

§ Hence, perhaps, the erroneous statement of Stow, who says, that St. Paul's cathedral being burnt in 1087, Maurice, bishop of London, built another "upon arches or vaults of stone, for defence of fire; which was a manner of work, before that time, unknown to the people of this nation, and then brought in by the French; and the stone was fetched from Caen, in Normandy." St. *Mary Bow* church, London, being built about the same time and manner; that is, on arches of stone, was therefore called, he says, St. Mary *le Bow*, as Stratford bridge being first built with arches of stone, was called Stratford *le Bow*. "This, doubtless," observes Somner, "is that *new* kind of architecture, the continuer of Bede (whose words Malmesbury hath taken up) intends, where speaking of the Normans income, he saith you may observe every where in villages, churches; and in cities and villages, monasteries, erected with a new kind of architecture,—*novo genere ædificandi*." Antiq. Cant. p. 86.

‖ The monk Eadwin's drawing (Vetust. Monu.) made between 1130 and 1174, sufficiently disproves this notion.

¶ This worthy prior was elected in 1285, filled the office forty-seven years, and died at the age of ninety-two. According to the registers and obituary of the church, as cited by Battely, in 1304 and 5, he built the great stairs leading to the west door of the choir, and had this exquisite screen (now surmounted with the organ, built for Handel's commemoration), erected at an expense of 839*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Mr. J. Wild thinks the workmanship of this screen too fine to be erected at so early a period, but this is no objection to the clear statement of the facts by the least equivocal authority, the church records. The sculpture indeed is in some respects not surpassed, if not unequalled, in the present age; the series of recessed or tabernacled arches, forming the doorway into the choir, the canopied niches for Mary in the centre, and the apostles on

(ee)

From this period the cathedral remained till about 1377, when the western transept was re-edified, under the auspices of archbishop Sudbury, of Suffolk, who was barbarously murdered on Tower-hill, by the Wat Tyler rebels. The nave, cloisters, and chapter-house (a part only of the latter), are attributed to the skill and piety of prior Thomas Chillenden. This prior presided over the establishment from 1391 to 1411; and was aided in his labours at the cathedral by archbishops Courtney and Arundel. About 1412, the chantry of Henry IV. (pl. iii.) was constructed; but unfortunately its architect is not named. About 1455, prior Thomas Goldstone the first, built the south-west tower * and porch, and the virgin chapel, now called the deans', on the east side of the Martyrdom. Archbishop Chichely furnished him with money to carry on the works. Priors Selling and Goldstone the second, between 1472 and 1517, aided by archbishop Morton, raised the centre or Bell-harry tower (formerly the angel steeple). Agreeable to the taste of that age, rebusses or hieroglyphics of Goldstone and Morton still appear on this work, the former three gilded stones, and the latter, Mor and a tun. Such are the dates and names to which historians assign the erection of the various parts † of our cathedral; and it is worthy of remark, that among all the claimants for the honour of contributing to so noble an edifice, not one has assumed the merit of raising the north-west tower, which prior to 1703, was surmounted with a leaden spire, 100 feet high. This part, therefore, we may venture to consign to Saxon-English genius ‡. Of the same remote origin are the nameless towers on the west wall of the eastern transept on both sides of the choir. The tower also in the chapel of St. Andrew, now the prebendal vestry, on the north side of the cathedral,

each side, the finely-executed ornaments of roses and twisted vines, and the six regal statues in front, which, although somewhat mutilated, are still admirable examples of grace and dignity, present such an assemblage of ancient beauty and skill, that must equally gratify the artist, amateur, or casual observer. With respect to its age, sculpture is an *art*, not a science, and its excellence chiefly depends on manual dexterity, without any reference to mental cultivation. The finely-sculptured idols in the museum of the East India House, prove that the Hindoos, however deficient in scientific attainments, possess great mechanical address.

* It contains a ring of eight bells and a clock, which strikes the hours on a larger bell, weighing 7500lbs. This tower has been called Bell Dunstan and Oxford steeple, from its founderChichely.

† Little attention has been paid to the mosaic work in Trinity chapel, noticed by Gough, which contained the zodiacal signs, some of which still exist, although much defaced. The figures are very curious and interesting, when considered with reference to our historical knowledge of astronomy. Sir W. Drummond has lately endeavoured to prove, that many parts of the Old Testament allude to the zodiac, and treats the subject with the levity of a child turning over dictionaries of unknown languages, and stopping at such words or characters as attract fancy or gratify caprice. But whoever reflects coolly on this head, will soon be convinced that our knowledge of the zodiac is so far beyond the powers of human invention, that it must originally have been revealed to man, and will consequently be neither surprised nor alarmed at finding allusions to it in the Bible. The worship of the planets is there clearly condemned.

‡ From the small stones of which it is built (according to Mr. Essex, Archæol. iv. on the antiquity of brick and stone buildings in England), we must consider its origin to be Saxon or English, prior to Norman times. If we calculate, with geologists, that stone, such as it consists of, exposed to the weather, loses by decomposition about one tenth of an inch every century, its actual state would indicate the lapse of at least nine centuries. Below this tower is the consistory court, a very plain apartment.

has not been designated by any Italian or French name; but that immediately opposite, on the south side, called after St. Peter and St. Paul, has latterly been denominated Anselm's, and contains vestries for minor canons. St. Michael's chapel (sometimes called the warriors', from its military monuments,) situated in the angle east side of the western transept and south wall of the choir, is likewise of an origin prior to the Normans: traces of the works of Odo, Lanfranc, and Sudbury, have been discovered in this curious structure. The octangular building, at the north extremity of the eastern transept, is the last part which we have to notice; and its antiquity is manifested by its Saxon arches; but whether it was originally used as a baptistery, like at present, or a lavatory for the monks, it is now useless to inquire.

Hence we discover, that the present edifice was completed but a very short time before the reformation. The change which then took place in religious sentiment was not perhaps greater than that in ecclesiastical architecture; the latter however was in a great measure the consequence of the former. The diffusion of Greek and Roman literature naturally inspired a taste for classical architecture. The existence of idolism, the necessity of having lengthened vistas, monkish processions, numerous angles, places for lamps, images, altars, candles*, confessionals, &c. being removed by the introduction of reading the gospel and spiritual devotion; the multiform churches, which prevailed during five centuries, were no longer expedient, and a more simple structure was generally adopted. It still however remains for some original genius to combine the beauties and utilities of the respective modes, to apply the principle of associating ideas, and produce a style of building, better adapted to our varying climate, and the purpose for which religious edifices are designed, than any yet in existence.

Of the national reformation itself, which so deeply affected our cathedral †, it is not here necessary to speak. Its history ‡ has often

* "The paschal taper," says Battely, "contained 300lbs. of wax, and seven other wax candles weighed 50lbs.; procession candles were 2lbs. each; and at the feast of the purification, each candle weighed 3lbs.; and every altar candle 1lb." Before the numerous "images of the Virgin wax tapers were continually burning,"—"incense to the queen of heaven." Dart has given a list of 98 entire gods, and relics of 443 others, consisting of bones, pieces of wood, cloth, stones, Mary's *milk*, &c. all of which were to be lighted; besides, 531 deaths to be annually commemorated, between the Norman revolution and the 14th century. This enormous consumption of wax was, perhaps, the most rational thing then existing, as their gods "must needs be borne, because they could not go," so as they were "in darkness they must be illuminated."

† "The title of dean was restored to the church of Canterbury, on its new foundation, by Henry VIII.; deans having preceded *priors* in its monastical establishment." From Augustine to Wilfred the archbishop presided in person without either dean or prior; from Wilfred to Lanfranc the church was governed by deans, chiefly seculars, wearing the dress, but not observing the rules of monkish orders; from Lanfranc to the dissolution of the convent, the chiefs were called *priors*. Henry was the last dean and first prior, about 1080. Thos. Goldswill, the 42d and last prior, surrendered the convent to Henry VIII. in 1540; and in April 1541, letters were issued incorporating the new society of a dean, 12 prebendaries, 6 preachers, 12 minor canons, &c. Battely, Le Neve, and Dart, date this establishment in 1542, contrary to the statement of Ridley, dean Wotton's monument, and other authorities. Todd's *Deans of Canterbury*.

‡ The integrity of history has been ably and elegantly vindicated by sir Egerton Bridges,

been written; but there exists not (in 1814) any adequate account of its origin, progress, and subsequent effects on society *. The frivolous casuistry, levity, or censure, which it has occasioned, are equally unworthy of sound reason or Christian philosophy. Till the annals of man afford an event of equal magnitude, where greater good was accompanied with less evil, where so much national happiness was effected with so little individual suffering †, where its votaries evinced more moderation or clemency, and its enemies experienced less chastisement, on every principle of induction, of fair reasoning from our experience, it challenges unqualified approbation from weak and erring men ‡. Those who arraign it betray very imperfect conceptions of the effects of idolatry; and seem absurdly to suppose, that great crimes may be removed without occasioning any inconvenience to the criminals!

With the reform terminated the practice of erecting episcopal tombs; and cardinal Pole is the last prelate whose sumptuous mausoleum is the most durable testimony of his munificence. The Protestant prelates §, instead of expending immense sums to raise splendid monuments, devoted their incomes to the propagation of knowledge, the establishment of schools and colleges ||, the relief of the indigent, and were contented with an humble bed in some parochial church. It is in vain we look among the papists ¶ for such prelates as Cranmer, Parker,

M. P. in his "Censura Literaria," and "Ruminator." The essays of this gentleman have been aptly denominated "the effusions of benevolence in the temple of Taste and nursery of Genius."

* On this subject there are two or three modern French prize essays well worthy perusal.

† We might contrast the conduct of the reformers with that of Lewis XIV. and observe the unmerited cruelties inflicted on the helpless protestants. "The conversion of the reformed," says Richerand, *Elemens de Physiologie*, "in Cevennes, was effected by extending them on a bench, and tickling the soles of their feet, till, overpowered by this torture, they abjured their creed; while many died in the convulsions which the tickling excited." See also Saumarez's "Oration to the Medical Society of London, 1813." If this author would confine himself to professional and moral subjects he might be a useful and even popular writer; but the Newtonian philosophy is beyond his province; and he calumniates Newton with as little reason as Dr. T. Thomson, in his "Annals of Philosophy," alias "Annals of Spleen," falsely pretends, that this great philosopher and Christian was not orthodox. Thomson's vulgar prejudice against bishops induces him to suppose a cause for the non-publication of Newton's religious writings; and then assert it as a fact, although he admits his ignorance of the truth.

‡ In Milner's Church History, vol. v. there is a brief, candid account of the reformation.

§ For some interesting traits of their characters, see Nichols's intertaining Anecdotes, and Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography.

‖ A French ambassador inquired what works archbishop Whitgift had published, on being answered, with the addition, that he had founded an hospital and a school at Croydon, he replied, "truly, an hospital for relieving the poor, and a school for instructing youth, are the best books which an archbishop can write."

¶ The *rev.* J. C. Eustace, author of some bulky volumes about Italy, prefaced by professions of candour, but full of erroneous descriptions, superstition, and sentimental nonsense (which his reviewers have not noticed), has published what he calls an "Answer" to the bishop of Lincoln's charge. He acknowledges, that he owes "honour and jurisdiction to the pope," (very comprehensive terms for a free-born Briton to a foreign and hostile prince), but is quite enraged at being called a *papist*, although he professes obedience to him, which none of the Calvinists, Lutherans, or any other reformed denomination, ever professed to any but Christ. His pretended "answer" indeed is a tissue of vulgar scurrility, malicious abuse, impudent assertions of what is virtually untrue, false morality, and worse logic, fully proving the propriety of the term *papist*, as we here use it; and also the deplorable state of moral and intellectual degradation in which papists still continue.

Juxon, Sheldon (who gave nearly 70,000*l.* in charities), Tillotson, Potter, and many others; but their admirable lives and works are so accessible to every lover of truth, that their names alone must excite the most pleasing reflections on human nature.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Total exterior length 530 feet; interior ditto 514; length of the Nave from the west door to the entrance of the choir, 214 feet; breadth of ditto 71 feet; height of ditto to the vaulted roof 80 feet; length of the choir 150 feet; interior breadth of ditto 38 feet; exterior, including its aisles, 82 feet; height of ditto to the vaulting 71 feet. Length of Trinity chapel and Becket's crown 120 feet; Trinity chapel is 63 feet broad, and 58 high; Becket's crown is 32 feet in diameter. The western Transept is 124 feet long and 34 broad; it contains the central tower, which is 235 feet high, and 35 in diameter; and its interior vaulting 130 feet high. The eastern Transept is 154 feet long, 29 broad, and 71 high. Dean's chapel is 37 feet by 21 broad, and 36 high. Chantry of Henry IV. is 14 feet long by 9 broad, and 10 and a half high at the west end. St. Michael's chapel is 34 feet long, by 21 broad, and 29 high. The baptistery (attributed by Gostling to Cuthbert) is 17 feet in diameter. The cloisters form a square, 134 feet on each side; and the chapter-house is 92 feet long, only 37 wide, and 54 high. The south-west tower is 130 feet high; the north-west only 100.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1, Presents a view of Becket's crown, the eastern transept of the cathedral, and part of the city wall, with one of the ancient towers. The Prospect is taken from St. Augustine's.

Plate 2. An ancient Tomb, said to be that of archbishop Theobald; it is ornamented with heads, dressed according to the ecclesiastical gradations, from simple monk to papal legate.

Plate 3. Chantry of Henry IV. to which two priests were nominated to say mass, for the repose of his soul. *This beautiful little chapel is remarkable for its power of augmenting sound.* On its south side, within the cathedral, was the Confessional.

Plate 4. A South-east View of the cathedral, from Trinity chapel to its western extremity; near the centre appears a fine window in St. Anselm's chapel, the old cemetery gate, and the windows of the semi-circular chapels on the east side of the eastern transept.

Plate 5. Interior of Trinity chapel; Theobald's tomb appears on the left; in the centre, that of Odo Coligny, cardinal Chastilion, who was poisoned by his popish servants, on his protestant visit to queen Elizabeth (his brother was one of the martyrs of St. Bartholomew). Enclosed by an iron railing is Edward the Black Prince's tomb; the gaudy screen, shown in the distance, was given by bloody Mary; west of it is the choir, and above it the *triforia*.

Plate 6, Exhibits the groining of the cloister, with the state entrance to the archbishop's palace, consisting of a great and small doorway. At the intersections of the ribs are escutcheons with arms, supposed to be those of benefactors, amounting to 683.

Plate 7, The Treasury, seen from the garden of the rev. Mr. W. Bennet, a minor canon; it displays much variety of circular and intersecting Saxon arches, richly ornamented.

Plate 8, The Western and the Central Tower. The buildings in front are remains of the archiepiscopal palace.

Plate 9. The Western Towers, with part of the north side of the nave and west cloister.

Plate 10. An ancient Staircase, leading to what is now called the Registry; the ascent is between two ranges of small Saxon arches, supported by slender columns, the capitals and arches are exquisitely sculptured.

Plate 11. A View taken from St. Anselm's chapel, looking across the choir, and exhibiting the double *triforium*. Archbishop Mepham's tomb appears in front.

Plate 12. A prospect of the South Front of the cathedral, with the entrance porch on the south-west; in this finely-executed porch are niches which formerly contained statues of the chevaliers who put Becket to death; the view is taken from Christ Church gate.

Plate 13, Represents an ancient Tower, in the south end of the eastern transept, covered with Saxon ornaments; part of the cemetery gateway, and, in the distance, Becket's crown.

Plate 14. A Doorway, from the north side of the cloisters, leading into the garden of Mrs. Prince, formerly the way into the apartments of the cellarer, "father of the priory;" in the distance, a fine arch appears, twenty-six feet in span, overgrown with shrubbery.

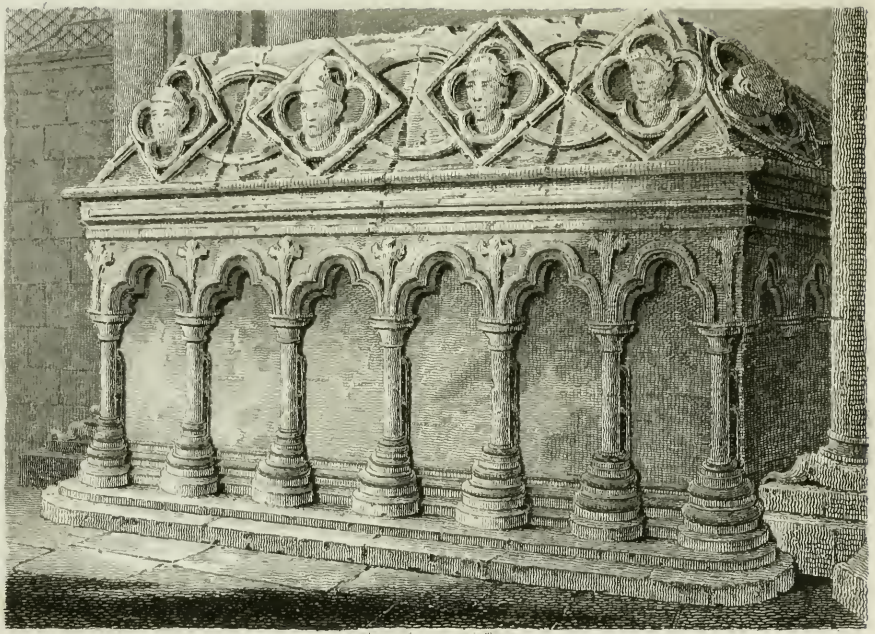
Plate 15. A View in the Undercroft, adjoining the eastern transept; in the centre are seen archbishop Morton's tomb; and beyond it, the chapel of the Virgin Mary, which was extremely rich, and splendidly decorated with gilded stars on a blue ground, representing the "starry throne" of her celestial majesty.

Plate 16. The West end of the Chapter-house, seen from the cloisters, with part of a fine tier of Saxon arches, which are alternately filled up with masonry.

Plate 17. The Frontispiece to Vol. I.; it represents the shattered remains of a most admirably sculptured Saxon archway, leading to the great dormitory, which was safely preserved, under a coat of mortar, during several centuries, till August 1813, when it was determined to to open the place; but, unfortunately, the execution of this laudable design was entrusted a rude mechanic, whose sacrilegious hands, with a few desperate blows, soon broke in pieces one of the finest specimens of ancient art.

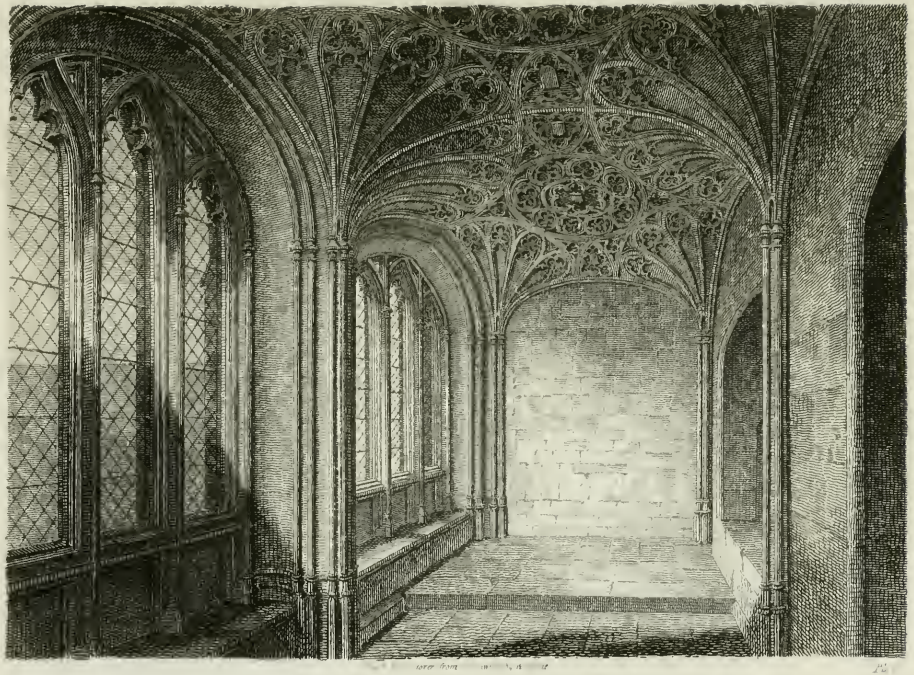
Pl.1

A View of Canterbury Cathedral



Tomb of Arch-Bishop Theobald, Canterbury Cathedral

Published Nov.1 1813 by Longman Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row



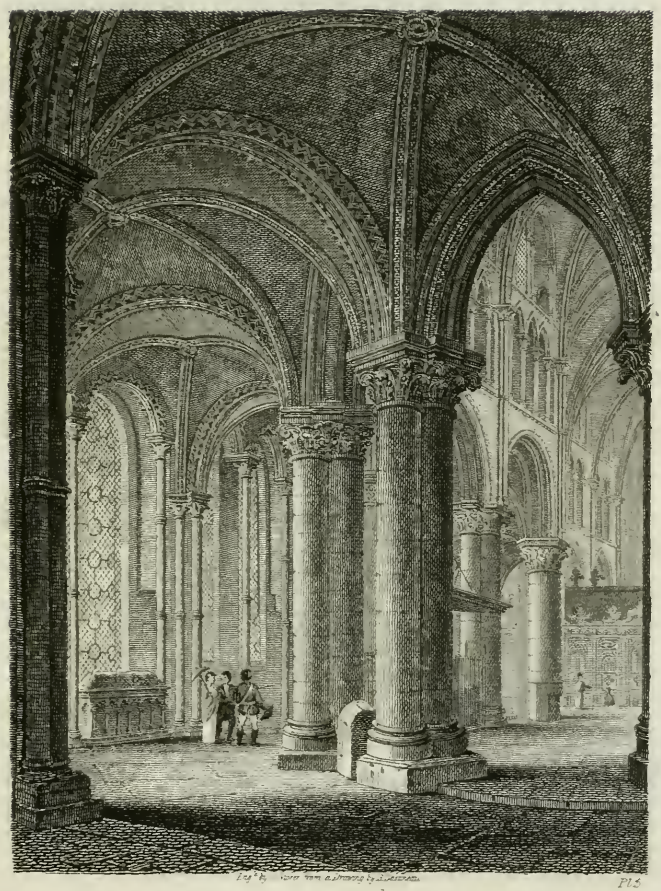
Henry the 4th Chapel Canterbury Cathedral

Engd by J. Storer from a Drawing by H. Storer

Pl. 4

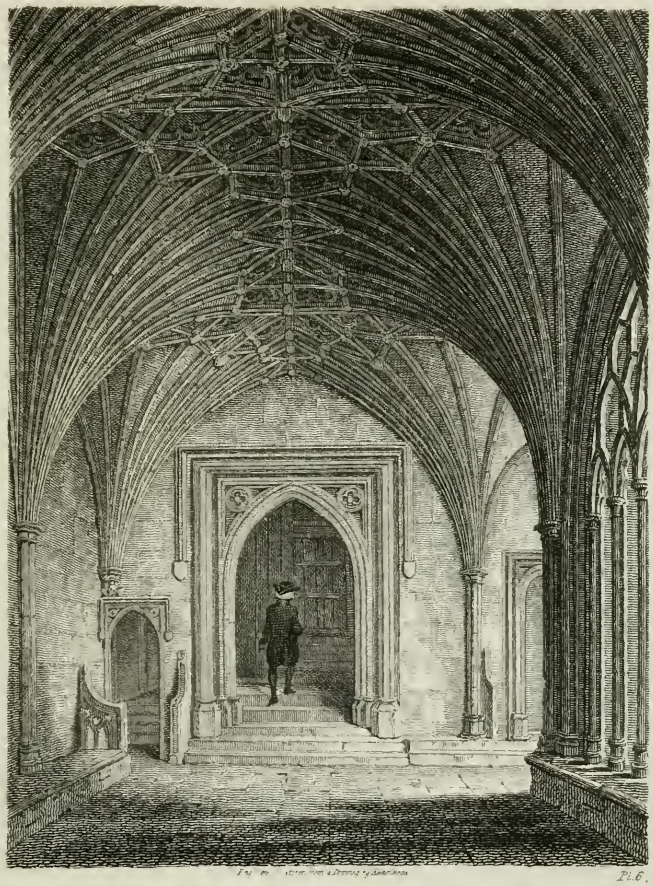
S.E. View of Canterbury Cathedral

London Published by J. Storer, Millman Street, Bedford Row



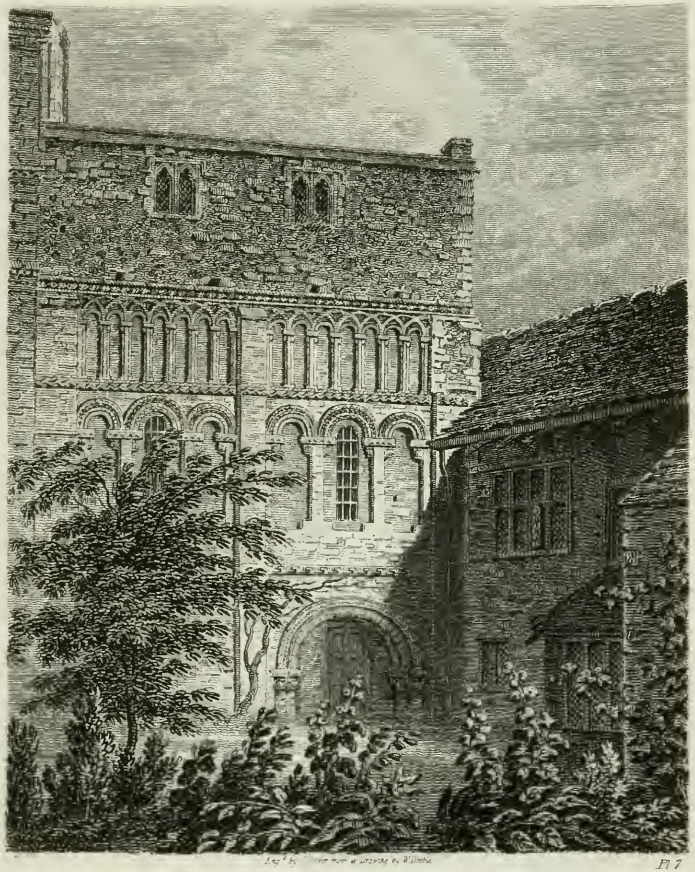
Pl. 5

Cantorbury Cathedral from the entrance to Beckets Crown.



Pl. 6.

Interior of the Cloisters Canterbury Cathedral.



Engd by [illegible] a drawing by Wilkins

Pl 7

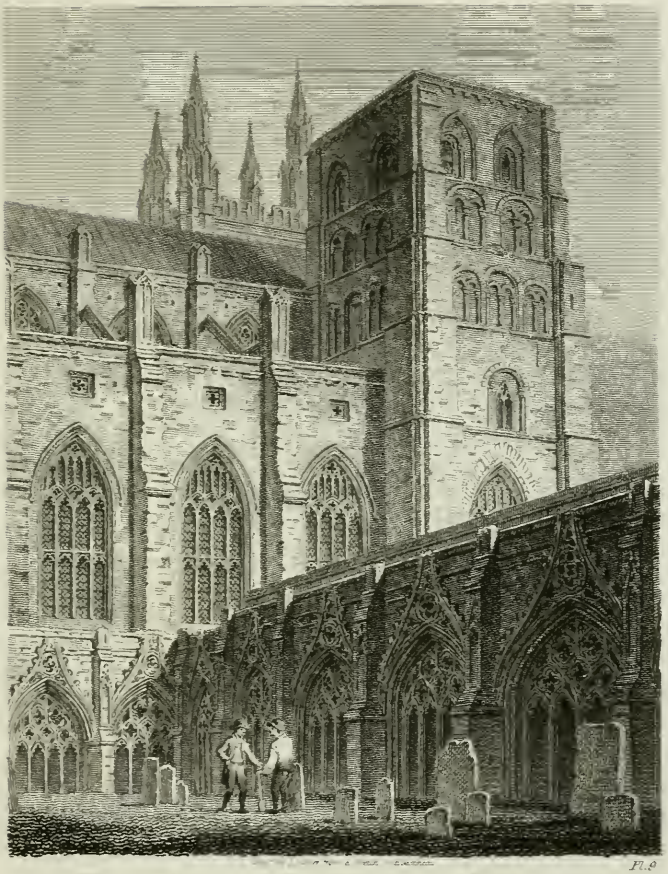
The Treasury, Canterbury Cathedral

Published Decr 1st 1815 by Harwood, Nicoll & Sons Paternoster Row

Pl 8

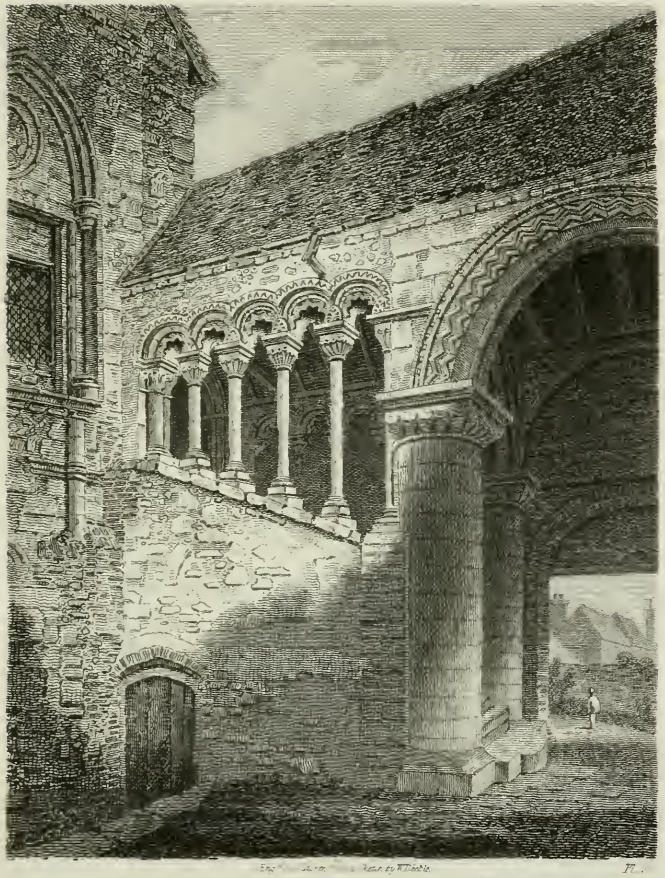
N.W. View of Canterbury Cathedral.

Published Dec 1st 1813 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones Paternoster Row

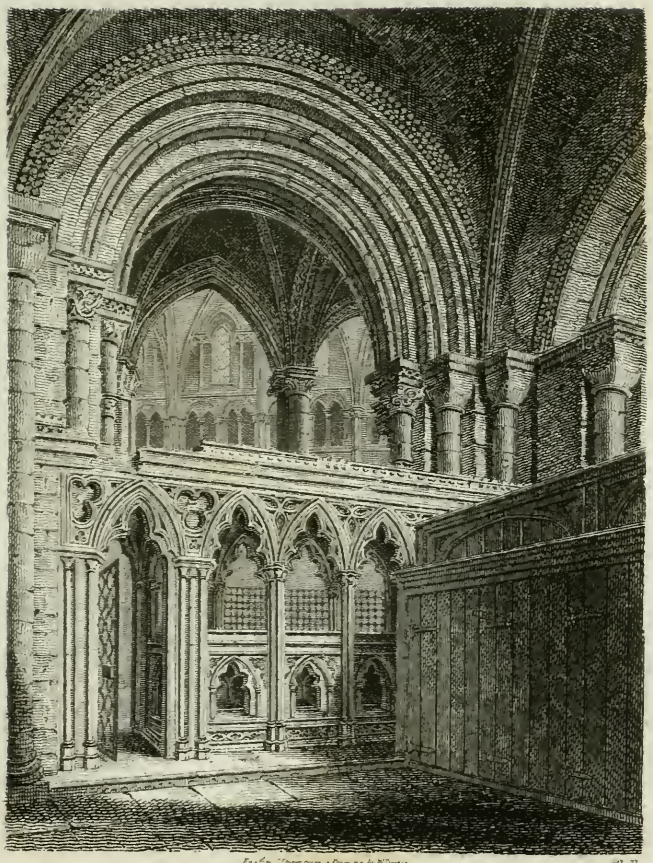


Pl. 9

Part of the Nave Canterbury Cathedral



The Registry Canterbury Cathedral.



Pl. II.

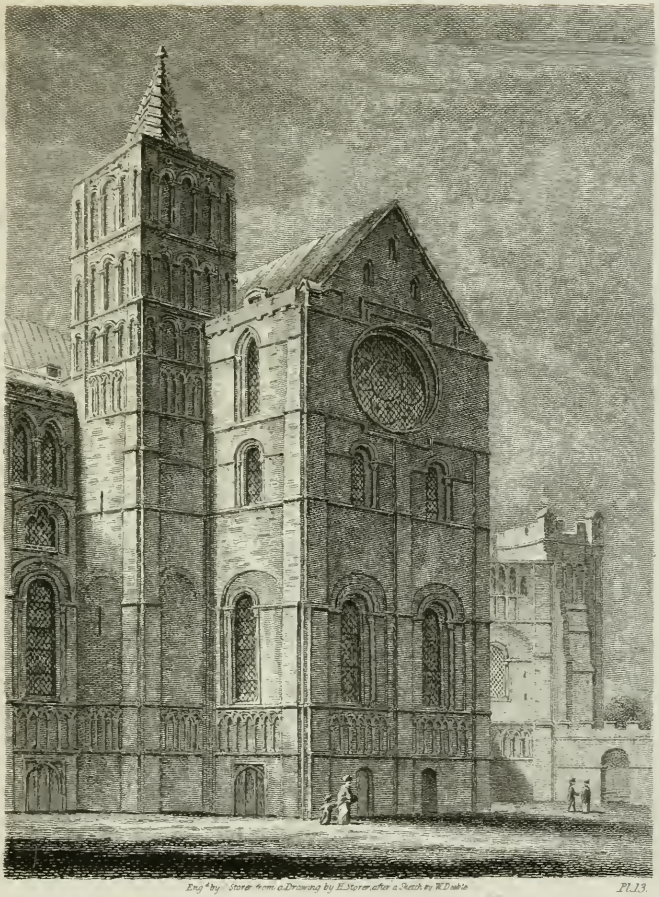
St. Anselm's Chapel, & part of the Choir, Canterbury &c.

Pl. 12.

S.W. View of Canterbury Cathedral.

To the most Revd. Charles Manners Sutton, D.D.
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
This Plate is most Respectfully inscribed
by his Grace's Humble Servt. J. Storer.

Published May 5th 1814 by Storer & Greig, 9 Jerusalem Passage Clerkenwell

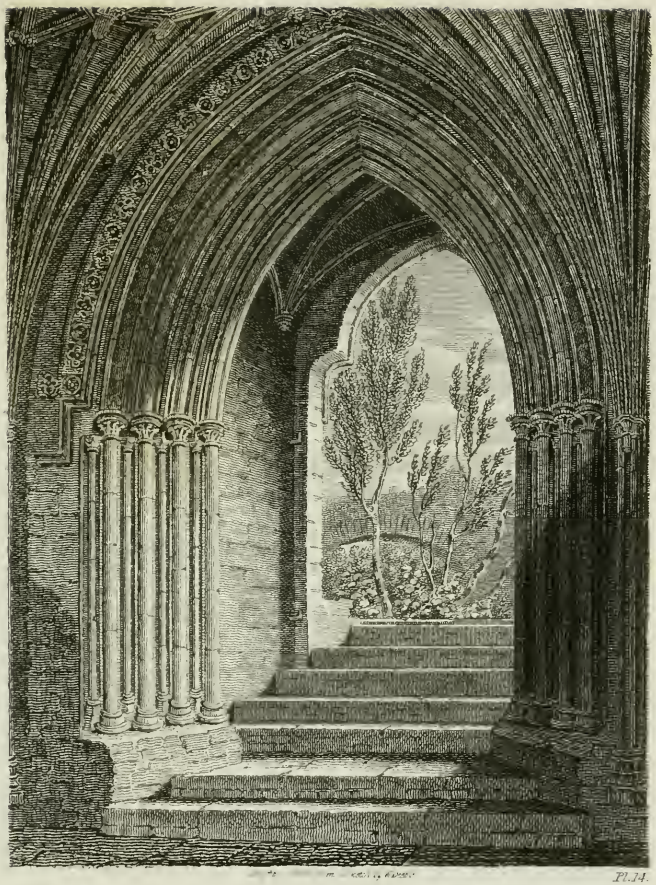


Engd by J. Storer from a Drawing by H. Storer after a Sketch by W. Dibble

Pl. 13.

S. Eastern Trancept Canterbury Cathedral.

Published Feb 1 1814 by Storer and Nicholl & Jones Paternoster Row



Pl. 14.

View from the N. side of the Cloisters to Canterbury Cathedl.

Engd. from a Drawing by H. Gastineau & a Sketch by W. Havell

Pl. II

The Undercroft, Canterbury Cathedral

Published May 1. 1824 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row

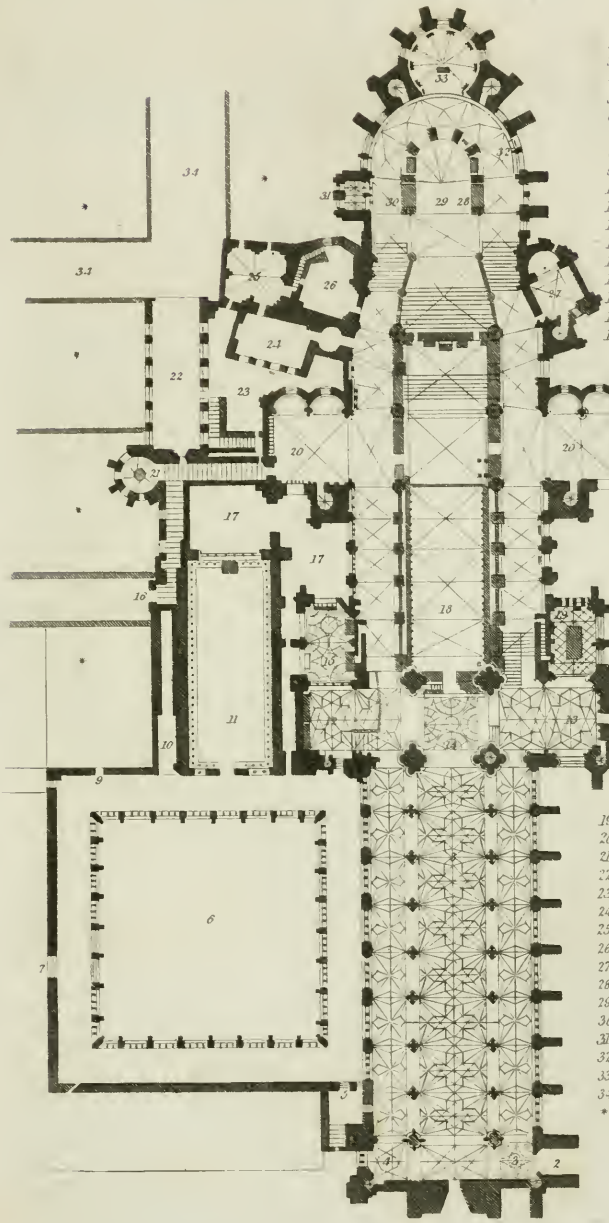
Pl. 16.

Chapter House, Canterbury Cathedral.

To the Rev.d Gerrard Andrews, DD. & F.A.S.
Dean of Canterbury, this Plate is
most Respectfully inscribed
By his humble Serv.t T.d Hoper.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL,

Shewing the grouning of the Roof.



2 S W Porch
3. D° Tower.
4. Consistory Court
5. Door into the Cloisters see pl.o
6 Cloisters
7. Door in D° see pl 14
8 Nave
9 See Vignette Title
10. Passage under ground
11 Chapter House
12. Western Transept
13. D°
14. Lanthorn
15. Deans Chapel
16. Entrance to the N.E. Transept
17 Open Ground
18. Choir.

19. St Michaels Chapel
20. Eastern Transept
21. Baptestry
22. Library
23. Open Ground
24. Audit Room
25. Treasury
26. Prebends Vestry
27. St Anselms Chapel
28. Tomb of Ed Bk Prince
29 Trinity Chapel
30 Tomb of K. Hy IV
31 Chapel of D°
32. Theobalds Tomb
33. Beckets Crown
34. Passage under ground
*. Gardens

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Chichester.

The diocess of Chichester, like Lincoln, Norwich, and many others, is much older than the actual see. The cathedral church of the South Saxons having existed nearly four centuries in the peninsula of Selsey *, it was not till after the Norman invasion that Chichester became the see of the bishop. Of the cathedral church of Selsey little is recorded, and still less of the edifice remains; its injudicious situation † does no honour to the judgment of its reputed founder Wilfrid; and it may be truly said, in every sense of the word, that it was built upon a sandy foundation. Among all the adventurers and missionaries which visited Britain during the Saxon age, Wilfrid, although called a saint, was incomparably the most ambitious, unprincipled, and irreligious. His incessant efforts to raise himself over all the other British prelates, his malign disputes with his brother teachers, his treasonable appeals to foreign powers, his avarice, and his vindictive spirit, did more injury ‡ to genuine Christianity than the mass of mankind will be easily induced to believe. Fortunately, however, for the South Saxons, his residence among them was not of long duration; it was occasioned, not by his zeal to propagate the truths of divine revelation, but his desire to enhance his own power §, and the circumstance of that part of the coast, being equally remote from the jurisdiction of Canterbury and Winchester, and, consequently, the safest for his

* Selsey, by the Saxons called *Sealsey*, *i. e.* according to Bede, the island of Seals.

† Lindisfarne is not so objectionable, although its see was sooner removed to Durham.

‡ He was expelled the see of York, went to Rome, procured, it is said, by bribery, a decree of the Roman synod in his favour, and returned with the determination of making kings and prelates submit to his authority. Some idea of his character may be formed, observes Dart, from "that weak and childish expression, 'that he would not disoblige St. Peter, lest, keeping 'the keys, he should refuse to open Heaven's door to him;' he thought he could not lay the English church too hastily under a foreign yoke."

§ This is the only motive consistent with the whole tenor of his life. Some monkish writers, and those who prefer the prestiges of superstition to the light of truth and reason, have called him a saint; but the united testimony of all true historians is precisely the above. Hay styled him "a very ambitious, restless, and turbulent man." Even, in *Eddii Vit. Wilfrid.* he is said to equal in magnificence and luxury the state and pomp of kings. Innet, *Orig. Anglic.* observes, "from the pomp and luxury he introduced into the church, he appears a man of a daring, aspiring, and vain-glorious temper, and one who affected noise and show." A multitude of authorities might be cited to the same effect, all proving, that however he might be a soldier or statesman, he was no divine, unless of the school of Mohammed.

embarkations to Rome. Nor is it to this man that our ancestors owe the blessings of the gospel; the South Saxons had previously given an archbishop (Wigard) to Canterbury, their monarch had also professed the Christian faith; and five or six religious, according to Bede, had taken up their residence at *Bosenham* *, long prior to Wilfrid's establishment in Selsey. King Adelwalch, in the true spirit of that religion to which he had become a convert, generously granted him an asylum; but not, perhaps, convinced that his conduct as bishop of York was altogether blameless, instead of permitting him to teach in his capital, sent him to the small peninsula of Selsey, allowing him to convert and exercise spiritual authority over the eighty-seven families † which it then contained. Being naturally ambitious, he was consequently a projector; and although it is very improbable that he possessed the means, it is certain that he proposed to erect a religious establishment in Selsey. To him, indeed, has been attributed the merit of building a monastery there; but if the people were so poor as to die of hunger, or drown themselves in despair, it is not very likely that an exile, deprived of his overgrown wealth, should be able to raise any very great or permanent edifice among them. It is truly observed by the judicious Hay ‡, that "as Wilfrid did not reside in Selsey more than four years, from 680 to 684 (perhaps not above one-fourth the time), he cannot be supposed to have finished the church there; that care devolved upon the great Theo-

* Now Bosham, *i. e.* wood-village, in the vicinity of Chichester; it still retains some traces of antiquity. Harold, son of earl Godwin, embarked here in 1056, to procure the release of his brother and nephew from William, duke of Normandy, but was treacherously detained till a resignation of his pretensions to the English crown was extorted from him; on this pretext did the Norman bastard afterwards found his claim, which the fatal battle of Hastings confirmed.

† This is the number which Bede, and after him Camden, states to be in the district; and the former speaks of only 250 persons *(ducentos & quinquaginta servos)* baptized by Wilfrid; nevertheless, in the "Chichester Guide," it is roundly asserted, that the inhabitants of Selsey "consisted of about 200 families." No authority is mentioned for this statement; but it is a good preliminary to something of the marvellous, which immediately follows.—Bede says, that Wilfrid taught the Selseyans how to catch fish, they being ignorant of that art prior to his arrival; but he admits that they could previously catch eels, certainly not the kind of fish easiest caught; and it is hence, probable, that Wilfrid only shewed them some improved method. "At his arrival," says our "Guide," he found the inhabitants suffering all the horrors of famine, to remedy which, in some degree, he instructed them in the art of fishing, of which they were before ignorant. But this slender resource being insufficient to supply their wants, the wretched inhabitants of the peninsula, driven to despair by their pressing wants, were *often* seen to join themselves in bands, to the number of *forty* or *fifty* ¶ in each, and thus precipitate themselves, from some eminence, into the sea, which washed their shores; seeking by this death to escape the terrors of one still more dreadful!" Without much arithmetical knowledge, one might conclude, that, out of 250 persons, if such groups were *often* seen destroying themselves so, they would soon leave, if not a sufficiency of food, at least, enough of room to the survivors. Pity that our veracious historian did not discover how much the repeated drownings of such groups must diminish the grandeur of the succeeding miracle! "St. Wilfrid being greatly distressed (as well he might) by the miserable situation of his flock (who most assuredly would have preferred fighting and plundering to drowning), it pleased God to *honour* the ministry of his servant in a *miraculous* manner; for a *sudden* copious rain fell upon the face of the earth (narrow peninsulas, doubtless, must suffer by droughts!), and so *revived* it, that it *quickly* brought forth its accustomed fruits, and thus were these wretched people delivered from their distressing situation." ‡ History of Chichester, p. 104.

¶ Bromt. X Script. p. 793, says *quadraginta* only.

(b)

dore, archbishop of Canterbury, and his worthy successor Brithwald." To Theodore, then, and not to Wilfrid, are we indebted for the religious establishment in Selsey, which afterwards became a bishop's see, and finally produced the present see of Chichester. Under the prelacy of Theodore, in Canterbury, religion and its professors every where became respectable; he established religious institutions and public schools in all parts of Britain; his successor was actuated by the same spirit; and during his long life, and that of the learned Daniel, bishop of the West Saxons, the country of the South Saxons was taken from the dioceses of Winchester and Canterbury, erected by the king into an independent see, of which Eadbert, abbot of Selsey, was properly the first bishop, and consecrated by archbishop Brithwald about 711. His successor was Eolla; after whom the see was vacant several years, till Sigga, Sigelm, or Sigfride was consecrated. During more than a century after this prelate, the see was filled by bishops, " of whom we know nothing now but the names. Probably (continues Hay, with much Christian candour), they were men of piety and worth, and peaceable, who studied rather to promote the interest and diffusion of Christianity among men, than erect monuments of fame in the world." About 906, Beorneg, bishop of this see, was taken prisoner by the Danes, and ransomed for £40 by king Edward the elder. In 980, Ethelgar, abbot of the new monastery in Winchester, was consecrated, and eight years after translated to Canterbury. Grynketell, the bishop of the East Saxons, being ejected for simony, purchased this see in 1039, which he occupied till his death, in 1047. Heca, a chaplain to Edward the Confessor, was the next bishop, and was succeeded in 1057 by Agelric, the last Saxon prelate that sat on this throne. Agelric was a monk of Canterbury, distinguished for his knowledge of the common law of England, and was appointed, it is said, with Geoffrid, bishop of Constance, to arbitrate the cause between archbishop Lanfranc and Odo, earl of Kent, the king's uterine brother. The decision was in favour of Lanfranc, and Agelric was deposed; but there is too much confusion and contradiction in the different statements of our historians to be reconciled in the present age *.

* Florence of Worcester, Birchington, Baronius, and all our chroniclers, agree in stating, that Agelric was unjustly deposed by a mock synod, held at Windsor, about Whitsuntide, in 1070. Now as Lanfranc was not nominated to the see of Canterbury till Sept. in that year; and as bishop Agelric is mentioned among the prelates who assisted at his consecration, it is evident that some error exists either in the date or the fact. The latter is extremely improbable, as it is even added, that pope Alexander remonstrated with king William on the injustice and illegality of his deposing him and other bishops without any canonical cause. It is said, indeed, that the good bishop was not only deprived of his see, but was actually imprisoned in Malmsbury goal till his death. Stigand, his successor, according to Malmsbury and Dicet, was appointed, by king William, on Whitsunday: hence, it would appear extremely improbable, that a deposed and imprisoned prelate should be chosen to arbitrate in a cause of such importance as that between Lanfranc and Odo, and which was decided, probably, about 1080, so many years after his deposition.

We are now come to the period when the see of Selsey was translated to Chichester. The removal of episcopal sees from remote villages to larger towns, was certainly not one of the most unjustifiable or irreligious measures * adopted by the duke of Normandy. If public worship be a social good, which the boldest infidel has never yet ventured to deny, it follows that it ought always to be performed in the midst of the greatest assemblage of people rather than in desert or unfrequented parts. Chichester, as being not only more central but incomparably more populous and healthy than Selsey, was a very fit place to become the future seat of diocesan power and cathedral worship. Its great antiquity rendered it respectable, its situation agreeable, and its fertility propitious to humanity. Of its population and condition previous to the Romans, we can only judge by inference. The inhabitants have been considered as the descendants of the Belgians, who are called by Cæsar the bravest and most warlike of the Gauls. Vespasian was probably the first hostile Roman, who, about A. D. 47, entered that part of Britain, now called Sussex (Suth-sex), and established his head-quarters in Chichester. His object being to plant colonies in the maritime districts, it was soon effected, as the people were more inclined to the social than the military arts. Claudius, also, who was decreed a naval triumph for his short visit to Britain, erected a temple † in our city to Neptune and Minerva. This circumstance is deemed a proof that the British town had been previously of considerable extent, as the Romans wisely preferred populous, healthy, and well-watered places for the erection of their temples. From that period till the departure of the Romans and invasion of the Saxons, our city, by whatever name it was designated, Regnum or Regnister, remained the capital of the Regni ‡, a kingdom, according to Camden, which included all the modern Sussex, with a considerable part of Surry and Hampshire. That the Romans raised many respectable edifices § in it,

* Nevertheless we cannot, perhaps, justly ascribe the real merit of this transfer to the tyrant, who certainly had other motives than the interests of religion. "It is," truly observes Hay, "an unquestionable fact, that, at the conquest, property of every denomination, both in the city of Chichester and throughout the county of Sussex, changed hands, with very few exceptions." It is a base contempt of truth in an historian to abstain from stating facts, "because their inhuman cruelty would appear incredible to posterity!" There is, perhaps, "no country in Europe to which the English did not emigrate to escape from the merciless Normans:" and a well-authenticated tradition still exists in Arragon (the freest of all the Spanish provinces), that the English, who settled there in the 11th century, contributed to lay the basis of Arragonese liberty, and disseminated a knowledge of the useful arts.

† The inscriptional stone of this temple was discovered in 1731, in digging up the ground for the foundation of the council-chamber; it is now in the possession of the duke of Richmond, at Goodwood. The name of *Pudens* occurs on it, whence it has been conjectured that it refers to the same person mentioned by St. Paul.

‡ Some accounts represent the Regni as being conquered by the *Bibroci*, a tribe of Gauls, who had settled in Berkshire; but there is much confusion in the statement.

§ "The British Belgæ," observes Hay, "being deservedly a favourite people with the Romans, enjoyed many privileges: they protected and promoted their foreign traffic, so that while the Romans remained here, almost the whole of the foreign trade of the island was in their hands.

(d)

during their residence, cannot be doubted, although very little, if any thing, remains at the present day which can be unequivocally pronounced of Roman workmanship*. The number and beauty of their coins †, indeed, which have been found at different times, and in various places, in and about the city, prove that it must have been the seat of wealth, luxury, taste, and science.

The usual effects of inordinate power and riches, luxury and licentiousness, having destroyed the spirit of patriotism, and rendered the Romans effeminate, they were obliged to abandon their colonies. Britain, participating in the weakness of her head, soon became the prey of warlike adventurers. The Saxons came as friends, but their naturally superior energy necessarily made them masters. They had not, however, long assumed the latter character, when they experienced much of that determined, but disjointed, resistance, which usually marks the conduct of degenerate descendants of a brave people. About 477, Ella, with his three Saxon sons, Cissa, Cymer, and Wlecing, made a descent at West Wittering, about seven miles south-west of Chichester. On the coast he met with little resistance, but he was unable to advance till reinforced by new hordes the following year. He then vainly attempted to approach our city, which had become an asylum to all the fugitive peasantry, who sought protection within its walls. Such, indeed, was the valour of the citizens and the strength of the fortifications, that notwithstanding the daily increasing numbers of the Saxons,

This was attended with many advantages to them; it procured them great comparative wealth, and consequently opened to them a door of improvement, a relish for, and access to, the enjoyments of the comforts and decencies of social life. Add to this, Chichester was the residence of the Roman Proprætor, and therefore a place of eminent resort; consequently, in the course of a few years, it experienced a great and beneficial alteration; uncomfortable huts were changed into decent edifices, and the uncultivated inhabitant converted to a respectable member of society, and a denizen of Rome, the mistress of the world. Chichester suddenly became, if not the most populous, at least the most opulent and eminent place in the island. In forming an estimate of its buildings, before the demolition of it by Ella, the Saxon, it will appear to great advantage. The houses no doubt were constructed after the Roman model, low, heavy, and with very thick walls, but still convenient and elegant to what they had originally been. How partial the Romans were to Chichester appears from their building here a temple to their gods. Vespasian met no opposition; and in return, the Regni alone, instead of being considered a conquered people, were called *the friends and allies of the Romans*. Fragments of Roman earthenware water-pipes have been frequently found about the Broile, near the city, whence it is inferred, that they had been used for conveying water to the city and fortress. It has also been ascertained, that the castle, or residence of the Roman Proprætor, occupied the site of the present episcopal palace, as the Roman pavement, found there in 1727, sufficiently proves. It is recorded, indeed, that Ella burnt and destroyed the city; but it must also be remembered, that the southern inhabitants were happily removed from the incessant incursions, depredations, and massacres of the Scots and Picts; and that Cissa, his successor, endeavoured to restore what his father had destroyed.

* We are sorry to dissent in opinion from our late worthy friend Mr. Hay, who believed that the walls of the friary, the canon-gate, and the vaults in South-street, now used by a respectable wine merchant, "are evidently Roman." The vaults in particular bear very little evidence of such a remote origin, although they are certainly very curious, and ought to be carefully preserved.

† In the cabinet of the ingenious Mr. King, of this city, there are some very fine coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Nero, Germanicus, Nerva, Faustina, Antoninus Pius, Hadrian, Claudius, Constantine, &c. &c. all in excellent preservation.

it was not till 480 that the besiegers ventured to take it by assault. In consequence of this obstinate defence, Ella ordered the city to be demolished, and the inhabitants put to the sword!—

> "Death in a thousand forms, destructive frown'd,
> And woe, despair, and horror, rag'd around."

Thus fell the capital of the Regni; and from the length of the siege, and the known valour of the enemy, some just notions of its strength and magnitude may be formed. After the Regnian capital was demolished, and its unfortunate inhabitants nearly all slaughtered, the adjoining country tamely submitted to the arms of the victor. Hengist, the self-created king of Kent, dying, Ella assumed the title of king of the South Saxons, and succeeded him as head of the Saxon confederacy till his death in 504 or 505. The Saxon authority being now established, and upheld by the sword, Cissa succeeded his father; but as a considerable portion of freedom necessarily existed among voluntary adventurers, he owed his elevation rather to his own personal good qualities than to any fixed laws. Cissa repaired the walls * and houses of the city, changed its Roman name to that of *Cissanceaster* †, or Cissa's city; and after ruling the South Saxons seventy-four years, died in 577, supposed at the great age of 117, being seventeen when he first arrived with his father in Britain.

From this period till the conquest, the history of Chichester has been very sparingly noticed by our ancient chroniclers, although it was unquestionably a customary seat of royalty. It was, however, inhabited by brave men; and it is recorded, that "the Danes, returning by sea from the siege of Exeter, landed on the coast of Sussex, when the men of Chichester sallied out, and slew of them many hundreds, taking also some of their ships‡." Nor does it appear certain that these marauders ever made any successful attacks on our city, otherwise the sad memorial of their sanguinary outrages must have been recorded in this as in other parts of the kingdom. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the fact, that no very rich and powerful monasteries existed here § to tempt their avarice or gratify their irreligious animo-

* "The fortresses of the first Saxons (says Lyon, Hist. of Dover Cast. v. ii.) differed very materially from the ground-works of the Romans, for they had no parapet to defend them." This accounts for the total disappearance of all Roman masonry in our city walls, as without some such termination they must necessarily sink under the effects of the atmosphere.

† "*Chichester* Britannice *Caerceri*, Saxonice Cissanceaster, Latine *Cicestria*." Camden. *Cicester*, which occurs in many of our monkish Latin writers, if pronounced by the same people who converted the language of Cicero into that of modern Italy and Spain, would be precisely the word which we now write and pronounce *Chichester*, and hence doubtless its origin.

‡ The suspicion of a cotemporary writer, Beauties of England (Sussex), that the historians of Chichester have transferred the scene of this event from Anderida to our city, is not supported by any collateral evidence.

§ The country nevertheless must have possessed very considerable wealth and civilization; as we read in Doomsday Book, twenty years after the Norman devastation, that there were 190

sity. Reason and judgment among the people of Sussex had always that ascendency over enthusiasm and the imagination, which insured to them comparative tranquillity, rendered them formidable to their enemies, and gave them an air of firmness, discretion, and philosophical respectability * sufficient to awe superstition and check rapacity. If so strong a place had few good buildings † in it, as generally supposed, it must have been from motives of prudence not to awaken the cupidity of plunderers. Yet in the days of Edgar, about 967, a mint was established here as well as at Winchester and Canterbury. But whatever might be the wealth and condition of Chichester before the Norman invasion, it then experienced a greater and more irreparable desolation ‡ than it had done from either Saxons or Danes. In the Norman survey only 283 houses are mentioned as remaining, and those were given to Roger de Montgomery, who was created earl of Chichester, and taxed at a most oppressive rental. Hugh de Montgomery, the second earl, is described as "a monster whom no favours could bind, no principle direct, and no laws restrain." This family being implicated in treason in 1102, the lordship of Chichester immediately devolved to William de Albini, earl of Arundel.

King William having found it necessary to adopt every means of securing his own power, had placed all his fellow adventurers in the high offices either of church or state. Nearly all the sees were filled with foreign monks during the first four years of his sway in England. Agelric, bishop of Selsey, was deposed about 1070, and Stigand §, his chaplain, consecrated in his place. The influence of priests

water-mills in Sussex. Now if the people could construct so many mills, and find employment for them, they must have been numerous, enlightened, and industrious. In the earlier ages *hand* and not water mills were used, as they still are in many parts of Portugal and Spain. Even among the laws of Ethelbert a fine of 25*s.* was imposed on any "man who should debauch the king's grinding-maid." Hay has carefully estimated the population of Sussex in the 11th century at 88,000, nearly three fifths of its number at the commencement of the 19th. Agriculture and gardening must then have been much superior to the vulgar notions of that age; "cabbages were cultivated, fruit trees planted, and even grafting practised towards the end of the 6th century." The South Saxons, as well as their descendants, were too cool and contemplative people to remain long ignorant of any useful art or comfort of social life.

* As a proof of this philosophical character, the verses of Cædmon, the Sussex poet of the 7th century, may be cited as "done into Ynglysse bye Ar. H." in the age of Henry VII.

"Thae wyd ympyrcam, whilk nae thocht mae bounde,
Frae whych thae strongist thocht tornes beck astownd,
Feilt thae dred wol; onyussal mochens hens
Throchowt thae 'xtent onlymited commens.—
Oh lyt my mynd, and teech my 'spyryn vers
Thae wondcirs of creashon to rehers."——*The Creation.*

† "It is recorded, (observes Hay), of the ancient Greeks, that they erected vast and magnificent temples to their gods and other public edifices, and lived in mean habitations themselves, so the Saxon-English, after they became converts, I do not say to Christianity, but to popery, built extensive monasteries and churches, and resided themselves in low and contemptible mansions. In the time of the heptarchy, perhaps the king's palace (in Chichester) was a spacious structure; but there is no reason to suppose it was a magnificent building."

‡ The inhabitants of Sussex were, of all the English, the most hated by the Normans; and as many of them held immediately of king Harold, and most of them were friendly to him, they were more disposed to inflame than obviate this animosity.

§ Some writers have confounded this foreigner with the English archbishop of Canterbury.

was then called in to aid that of the sword; the episcopal sees, situate in villages or fertile vales, were ordered to be removed to the chief towns; and about the year 1082 Stigand removed his from the peninsula of Selsey to the city of Chichester. At that period we have recorded only two religious buildings in this city, a number which, if correct, proves that the South Saxons were much superior to their neighbours; who, "dropping the sword and the sceptre, hastened to end their days in the seats of sloth and superstition." Malmesbury* does not forget to assure us that Chichester had a monastery, dedicated to St. Peter, and a female convent; the site of the former, it is now believed, is occupied by the transept of the present cathedral. If by the monk's term monastery, we understand simply a church †, as it imports in other parts, it was doubtless a massy stone building ‡, of sufficient magnitude to answer the purposes of a cathedral during the life of Stigand. What efforts this prelate made towards erecting a new cathedral have not been recorded; but the reduced state of the country, and the courtly disposition of the bishop, render it probable, that very little was done till his death in 1087, and that of his successor, Godfrey, who enjoyed the honour about a year. The see then remained vacant three years, its revenues being appropriated by the king. In 1091, Ralph was raised to our see, and began to make arrangements for building, but his progress appears to have been very limited, until the accession of Henry I. a prince of great powers and native merit. This prelate was enabled by Henry to finish his cathedral in 1108. But, as usual, with churches in that age, it was destroyed by fire in May, 1114. This circumstance has induced many to suppose that the building was entirely wood; yet there is "no reason to imagine," as well observed by a cotemporary writer, "that so long a time should have been occupied in the erection of an edifice of such slight and perishable materials, or that the munificence of a king should have been necessary to enable bishop Ralph to complete it, particularly as wood must have been a very cheap and plentiful commodity in those times, for nearly the whole neighbourhood appears to have been one vast forest." This determined prelate however recommenced his work the following year, and by the princely munifi-

* The genius of the Sussex people has always been too philosophical to be monastic. Yet it is not improbable, as suggested by Tanner, that the "Fratres Cicestriæ morantes," mentioned in Edwin's charter, in 956, belonged to our city. They were no less distinguished for wit, as Dr. Andrew Borde, physician to Henry VIII. was the original "merry-Andrew."

† See Gough's Camden, where Mr. Clarke disproves the existence of any regular monkish establishments in Chichester prior to the Normans, and shews the practice of designating churches as convents. Vol. i. p. 194.

‡ If Sussex abounded in wood it was also well supplied with stone, and we know how generally the Petworth marble was then used in the ornamental parts of churches. It is certainly the most beautiful, although not the most durable, marble in England; there is none which takes a finer polish, or better for domestic purposes; but it was very improperly used by architects for columns, exposed to humidity and the vicissitudes of the atmosphere.

(h)

cence of a great monarch, well calculated to reign in such a licentious age, had it nearly completed when he died in Dec. 1123. The wooden-architects have pretended that this second structure was also of wood, but they have advanced no authority* to support their conceits, which are opposed by much internal evidence. It is insufficient to say, that such an edifice could not be completed in the short period of nine years: the style and extent of the interior walls of the choir and nave, from the high altar to the west end, with their "round heavy arches and massy pouch-head columns," are very compatible with the time and age of Ralph's building. By the monkish writers this bishop is represented as being one of the mildest, yet most determined, of men; as rebuking Rufus for expelling the vindictive Anselm, and, at the same time, offering the king his crosier and ring—his actions, however, are not of the most mild character. Henry I. having required the married clergy-tax to be paid into his exchequer, Ralph alone, it is said, resisted the demand; and, determined to have this impost himself, he not only prohibited divine service to be read in his diocess, but ordered the church doors to be barricaded with thorns to keep out the laity! The king, supposing him a man of disordered mind, quietly allowed him to receive the fines of married priests. Doubtless, the money so collected contributed to build the cathedral and the deanery, which was founded by this bishop. Nevertheless, it is affirmed that he contrived to regain Henry's favour, and draw from him liberal sums for the use of his church.

Seffrid, abbot of Glastonbury, succeeded Ralph; he was brother to Ralph, the jesting archbishop of Canterbury, who accepted his investiture from the king; but, at the same time, on receiving his pall, took a canonical oath of obedience to the pope, which afterwards occasioned so much misery to the king and country. One author says Seffrid died in 1132; another in 1150, and was succeeded by Hilary, who died about 1169. This bishop is distinguished as the only one of the English prelates, who, in a candid and manly manner, declared his approbation of the measure, afterwards called the Clarendon statute †,

* The late historian of Chichester contended for the rebuilding with wood, against the more skilful observations of bishop Lyttleton and Mr. Clarke; but for once he unhappily descended from historical to literary criticism, and failed in both. He was led into this mistake by Seffrid II.'s pompous consecration of the church (which was dedicated to the Trinity), not knowing that papists use this ceremony for every trifling repair to any part of the building.

† In consequence of above a hundred murders having been committed by ecclesiastics since the accession of Henry II. only nine years, the king called a meeting of the bishops, at Westminster, to reform the laws, and allow monks, accused of heinous crimes, to be delivered to a secular tribunal. This very natural and just desire the bishops, with Becket at their head, opposed. His majesty then asked, "would they observe the royal customs?" They answered, collectively, that they "would observe the royal customs, *saving their order!*" The question was put individually, and they all gave the same jesuitical and evasive answer, excepting the more worthy bishop of Chichester, who answered positively that he would, without any mental reservation. See *Gervas. An.* 1169.

from the royal palace of that name, near Salisbury. John de Greneford, being dean, was raised to the episcopal chair; and, dying, was succeeded by Seffrid, the second of that name, who was consecrated in October, 1180. A few years after, the cathedral, palace, houses of the canons, and city, were all burnt: Godwin dates this conflagration in 1187; others in 1185. The former fire is thus described by Hoveden: "Civitas Cicestriæ cum principali monasterio, flammis consumminata est, A. D. 1114;" the second is more alarming—"Combusta est fere tota civitas Cicestria cum ecclesia sedis pontificalis, et domibus episcopi, et canonicorum." Hence we should be led to believe that only the city and principal monastery were burnt in 1114, and the whole cathedral, palace, and city, were consumed in 1187. But as the last calamity is always the greatest, and as the whole sentence is modestly qualified with the little word *ferè*, almost, we may fairly conclude with Mr. Clarke, that only the wooden roof of the cathedral, and such of the houses of canons and citizens, as were of the same combustible matter, fell a prey to this "fortuitus" fire. Seffrid II. has been honoured as the builder of the present cathedral *. The learned and accurate Mr. Clarke, a resident canon, concluded differently; and has truly observed, that it is now difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish his repairs from Ralph's original work, unless the pillars, with carved and lighter capitals, which support the uppermost round arches and the west tower be among them. "But whatever Seffrid did, it is certain, that all the great improvements in the present fabric, were after his time, the successive works of several bishops, Aquila, Poore, Wareham, and Neville. Aquila, of a noble family in this county, began the work. This appears by the patent rolls in the eighth of king John, a few years after the death of Seffrid, where there is a royal licence granted to the bishop of Chichester to import materials for repairing the church: "Licentia episcopi Cicestrensi ducendi marmor † suum per mare à Purbeck ad reparationem ecclesiæ Cices-

* This bishop must have made rapid progress, even in repairs, as the Winchester Annalist says, "dedicata est ecclesia Cicestriæ a Seffrido ejusdem loci episcopi, A. D. 1199, ii. id. Sept." From this passage alone it may be inferred that Seffrid had not rebuilt the cathedral from its foundation, otherwise it would have been mentioned. "It requires, indeed, no great penetration to perceive that the walls have been cased with a thin coat of stone, supported, at the intercolumniations, by Purbeck (rather Petworth) marble pillars, with the ornamented capitals used at the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries; the pillars supporting the arches of the upper triforium, or ambulatory, are of the same materials and age; but the external arches of the windows in this story are evidently coeval with the lower part of the church, and are ornamented with billet moulding, &c. This circumstance greatly strengthens the supposition, that the fire only damaged the interior of the building, and that its ravages were afterwards concealed by a thin casing of stone. The cathedral, previous to the fire, was probably only ceiled with the rafter work of the roof, like many other edifices of the same period." *Chichester Guide.* Add to this, that in an ancient MS. catalogue of bishops in the archives of the chapter, it is stated, "Seffridus readificavit Cicestriam et domos suas in palatio;" but no mention is made of the church.

† This term, marble, is so vague, that it has been entirely expunged from the science of

trensis." This was the beginning of the most considerable additions to bishop Ralph's fabric, and proves that the stone came from Purbeck, and not Caen. About eight years after the date of this licence, Poore succeeded Aquila, and no doubt carried on the work. He was the greatest builder of his age, the foundation * of the present church of Salisbury being a sufficient monument of his taste and skill. He was here but a short time, and the repairs of this church were very far from being finished by him or his successor Wareham. This is ascertained by the first of bishop Neville's statutes in 1232, which is to make provision for the work; he assigns the twentieth part of all the preferments in the church for that purpose; "Quia ecclesia multiplici reparatione indigere dignoscitur." The whole work was probably finished in his, or the beginning of his successor's time, as bishop Richard's constitutions say nothing more of the fabric, but that the old statute of bishop Simon should be revised upon every promotion."

These facts and observations are unfortunately the chief data on which the natural history of our cathedral can be founded; for the records of the church here, as in almost all other places, are silent with respect to the names of the principal architects of this edifice. It appears probable that Neville either built, or entirely remodelled, the upper stories of that part of the choir which includes the two eastern arches and joins the library, as the style and even materials are manifestly different. These arches are pointed, and their two corresponding windows on the north and south sides of the building, in the upper story are of the same figure, and plain, whereas all the others, both in choir and nave, are round, and ornamented with billet-moulding. In this space we find Petworth marble columns, with richly-ornamented capitals instead of the plain roundish Saxon ones; and in the ambulatory, or lower triforium, as it is called, there are no butments † for arches to raise a second vaulting over the aisles, as appear in the other three arches of the choir. Previous to the erection of these two arches in the pointed style, it appears probable, from the character of the

mineralogy. In this instrument it is used for the Purbeck sand-stone, and not marble. This circumstance has misled antiquaries, and induced them to mistake the small gray blue columns for Purbeck, instead of Petworth marble. The quarries near North Chapel have doubtless supplied the builders of Canterbury and Rochester, as well as Chichester, with marble for small columns.

* This fact is by no means unequivocal.

† This circumstance has escaped the notice of previous describers of our cathedral. The present ragged appearance of those butments proves that they have formerly supported some building, if not regular arches. The probability is, that these extensive apartments, each side of the building, were either vaulted or ceiled as well as the choir, or designed to be so; and that they may have been used on extraordinary occasions as minstrel-galleries to the choir. In the latter supposition, from the marks in the walls, it may be inferred that they were entered by a door from the Paradise, and not by the present winding-stair, which is not so much worn as to sanction a conclusion of its being numerously frequented. It would add greatly to the effect of the choir, if the heavy breast wall raised between the choral arches in the ambulatory were either entirely removed or so much lowered, that they could not obstruct the vista.

lower walls, that the east-end of the cathedral was circular, and that the high altar was contained in a kind of forum or semicircle, like many other churches of that age. It is evident, indeed, that whatever might be the figure of this part, it must have been lower than the west end of the building. The situation of bishop Ralph's tomb * on the north side, and that of Seffrid on the south of the entrance to the library, also tends to confirm the opinion, that the high altar must originally have occupied the space between them. It was a religious custom of superstitious ages to bury founders and benefactors about the high altar, near each other, and no doubt these tombs have never been removed from their present situation.

The aisles of the cathedral were built in the thirteenth century; suspicion might be entertained of their having formed part of the original design of the builder, "did not some Norman Saxon arches at their western extremity clearly prove that the church originally had side aisles. In the external walls of the side aisles of the choir, are some remains of Norman-Saxon windows, long since closed up, and others of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries inserted; many Norman-Saxon corbel heads also are still remaining in the upper part of these walls." The principal alterations in the church, subsequent to its reparation after the fire, seem to be the insertion of the large west window, and of those in the north and south end of the transept. The latter is the work of bishop Langton, and does honour to his taste and liberality. He expended the sum of £310 in erecting his chapter house, and glazing this window with stained glass, which remained uninjured till the rebellion, when it was destroyed by the sacrilegious hands of impious fanatics. This prelate † also gave £100 towards repairing other parts of the cathedral.

The building at the east end of the church was originally a chapel, said to be dedicated to St. Michael, but, latterly, called the lady chapel. By some its erection has been attributed to bishop Gilbert de Sancto

* "The tomb of Ralph is evidently of the time of that prelate; if it had been placed in a wooden church, it must certainly have been injured by the fire; in its present state it is more perfect than that of Seffrid his successor. It is of black marble, having the mitre and crosier on its top, and the words RADVLPHVS EPISCOPVS carved at the west end; opposite are two tombs of the same materials, ornamented in the same manner; they are side by side, and stand under an arch evidently constructed long after the tombs it covers; these are the monuments of Seffrid II. and Hilary, who was his patron."—*Ch. Guide.*

† These grants were certainly very considerable; but he possessed many preferments, was archdeacon of Canterbury, treasurer of Wells, canon of York and Lincoln, and prebendary of this church; he was also lord chancellor to Edward I.; and, in 1310, was appointed, for his wisdom and prudence, one of the *ordainers*, or private advisers, of Edward II. In 1315, he excommunicated earl Warren for adultery, and threw him into prison for attempting to remonstrate. He left 100*l.* to the university of Oxford to lend to poor graduates; died, after filling this chair thirty-three years, and lies in the south transept, beneath the great window, which he built: his tomb was richly ornamented; and, although much defaced by those who destroyed the "storied" glass over it, still retains some marks of elegance and beauty. It is remarked, that the figure of the bishop has a horse at its feet, a lion being more generally found in that situation.

(m)

Leofardo; by others he has been considered only its repairer. It was perhaps originally a handsome structure; but the want of uniformity, the difference in the width of the windows, the filling up of that at the east end, and the very disproportionate turrets at the corner of the chapels on its north-west and south-west sides, have greatly impaired its general effect. This chapel is now much better occupied than with the images of a woman, and forms a very handsome library *, containing a respectable collection of books, which are all in excellent preservation. A few portraits † decorate the walls. Below it is the sepulchral vault ‡ of the dukes of Richmond. The choir is very pleasing, and in some parts richly fitted up. The stalls are of oak, executed during the prelacy of Shurborne, are finely carved, and have the names of each dignity inscribed over them in an ancient character. The misereres in these stalls are very curious, many of them admirably carved (although above 300 years old), are well preserved, evince great fertility of invention, and are happily free from all indelicate representation §. The high altar screen consists of the same materials as the stalls; it is terminated by a gallery, on which musicians were formerly placed at the celebration of high mass, and is perhaps the only thing of the kind now extant in this country. The finest part, however, in our cathedral is, the west entrance to the choir; and it is much to be regretted that it should still be disfigured by old pews ||, which also cover several tombs ¶, particularly that of bishop Arundel. Shurborne, who was only half a protestant, caused

* For this we are indebted to the learning and zeal of the worthy chancellor and canon, Mr. W. Clarke, and the munificence of bishop Mawson, who also caused the portraits of the kings to be repaired by Tremayne. This excellent prelate was remarkable for absence of mind; he addressed Mr. Greene, on meeting him at court, "How do you do, Sir Greene? When did you leave college, Sir Greene?" The title, *Sir* (the college phraseology of that age), astonished the courtiers in the drawing-room, till explained. "He is indeed," says Mr. C. "awkward, absent, &c. but then he has no desire to please, and is privately munificent when the world thinks him parsimonious. He has given more to this church than all the bishops put together for more than a century."—His extraordinary donations will be more properly noticed at Ely cathedral. As to Mr. Clarke, an able antiquary and most amiable poet, Mr. Nichols, in his "Literary Anecdotes," has paid a just tribute to his merit; and his grandson, the rev. James Stanier Clarke, is a worthy scion of the Clarkes and Wottons.

† Among them, that of Charles, 2d duke of Richmond, executed by Mr. Smith, a native artist (one of three brothers, all painters), will instantly attract the attention of observers. The colouring is of a very superior character, and would do honour to any artist of any age or country. It was this duke who liberally repaired the cross, and the manner in which his portrait is executed and preserved is a very proper memorial for his public beneficence.

‡ The entrance to this vault in the church by steps, enclosed with an iron railing, immediately before the door of the anti-room to the library, is very awkward, and should either be removed or entirely covered over with a folding door.

§ Mr. King, with his usual talent and industry, has made very correct drawings of all these sculptures, and it is hoped that he will be encouraged to lay them before the public, as a specimen not only of the skill of our ancestors, but of the numerous curiosities in our cathed. and city.

‖ Since the public spirited erection of a new and very spacious chapel, well calculated to support rational piety, and counteract the prestigious wanderings of fanaticism, it is hoped that it will no longer be necessary to have pews here. The remaining lines in the pavement of the nave and side aisles, destined to guide processions in papal worship should also be left more conspicuous.

¶ Among the most interesting memorials of the dead in this fane are some modern mural

Bernardi to paint heads of all the bishops, from Wilfrid to himself; these occupy the east side of the south transept, and are thirty-four feet by sixteen and a half; the portrait of bishop Day has been added, and the whole forms one of the most curious and interesting pieces now extant. Opposite on the west side are two paintings, executed by the same artist, one representing Wilfrid's first interview with the Saxon monarch, and requesting from him an asylum; the other exhibiting Shurborne, attended with his clergy, soliciting Henry VIII. to repair this cathedral *. Portraits of the kings from William I. to George I. fill up the remainder of this west side of the transept. The ceiling is likewise painted with flowers, &c. like that of St. Alban's; but although it was certainly executed under the direction of Shurborne, as appears by the frequency of the letters, R. S. and the saw of Wykeham (manners makyth man), it is not likely to be the work of the same artist that painted the portraits. The north end of the transept is fitted up as St. Peter's parish church or sub-deanery; some of the pointed arches have zigzag ornaments, the same as in Canterbury.

The erection of the cloisters † has not been attributed to any particular prelate; their present figure is certainly not more remote than the 14th century; they may originally have been the work of Clipping, Berghstede, and their successors. Langton has been supposed the builder of the spire ‡, which is evidently erected since the tower on which it stands. Tradition also ascribes to him the bell-tower, said to be constructed with the materials which a Mr. Riman had collected to build a castle, but which he was prohibited from doing by Edward II. Of these particulars, however, the records of the church are silent, consequently they rest on tradition and conjecture. From this period to the days of bishop Story § we have no accounts of any episcopal architects, al-

monuments of exquisite workmanship; that to alderman Dear, by Flaxman, is a fine specimen of simple elegance and felicity of design; that to dean Ball, by the same artist, of an angel promising reward, is certainly one of the happiest efforts of human genius in marble. The physiognomist will discover more pious benignity in the face of the angel than in all the academical figures ever exhibited. This monument is alone sufficient to perpetuate any name. The monument to Collins has received the poetical praises of Mr. Hayley and Mr. Sargent, two kindred souls, able judges, and fine poets; if the two unnatural figures, in an impossible posture on its top, were removed, the effect would be improved. The memorial of Miss H. Cromwell has also excited attention; the design is from Peters of the angel receiving a spirit, but the angelic figure is clumsy, and there is something of indelicacy in the manner of retaining the ascending beauty.

* These two paintings, and that of the bishops, with the written characters attached to each head, have been admirably drawn and engraved by Mr. King; the labour of such an undertaking is not more surprising than the fidelity with which all the diversified traits of character are transferred from the canvas to paper.

† Their dimensions have been strangely misrepresented, in consequence of a typographical error in B. Willis's Hist. of Abbies, and copied by Dallaway, Antiquarian Cabinet, and most inexcusably by our "Guide," although omitted by Hay. Their beauty is lost by being built up.

‡ In 1721 it was injured by lightning, and repaired shortly after. This is recorded by an inscription on the terminating stone, "Henry Smart, 1723." It is now (1814) undergoing another repair, and an ingenious native artist, grandson of the above, has raised a scaffolding, and is about to renew above eighteen feet of its top, at an expense of not less than 1600*l*.

§ The octangular building, called The Cross, erected by this bishop, is unquestionably

though, doubtless, many of them contributed liberally towards repairing the building. The latter prelate founded the prebendal school in 1497, which had the honour of introducing Selden to the first principles of knowledge, and is again likely to become of eminent advantage to the city and country.

At the reformation, this cathedral experienced little change, the foundation being always for secular canons, governed by a dean. Its establishment consists of dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, two archdeacons, thirty prebendaries, four of which residing, are residentiary canons, and four vicars * choral; &c. Many illustrious characters have conferred lasting blessings on society, during their residence here, since the happy reformation; its martyrs †, too, since that period, have not been inconsiderable; but as benefactors to their species, the names of Andrews (one of the Bible translators), Patrick, Manningham, Mawson, Bowers, Hare, Duppa, Henshaw, Clarke, &c. must ever be remembered. A principle of integrity ‡, and a sentiment of humanity mark the Sussex character. This was evinced on the frantic days of Cromwell and his followers. Chichester, faithful to its sovereign, refused compliance to the parliamentary mandates ||, in consequence of

one of the finest structures of its kind now remaining in the kingdom. It stands near the centre of the city, at the intersection of the four principal streets from the cardinal points. Formerly it was surrounded by a large market place, but houses were obtruded on that ground, which impaired the general views, and much injured the picturesque effect of this elegant structure. The desire of building, indeed, was such, that several persons, more influenced by present or personal advantage than the real interests of the city, attempted to procure its demolition; but happily some more judicious members of the corporation interposed, and not only prevented its forcible destruction, but also repaired the effects of time, enclosed it with an iron railing, and prepared for the removal of the obstructing houses on its north side. The edifice is of an octangular shape, with eight flat-pointed arches (having crockets and finial), supported by buttresses, all of which rest against a finely ramified roof, sustained in the centre by a very massy round pillar; this pillar seems to be continued through the roof, and is supported by very elegant fly buttresses or springers, ornamented with crockets, which give the whole a coronal appearance. Over their junction in the centre is placed a modern lantern, which is not more incongruous with the other parts than the little vanes on the top of the turrets. The exterior is beautifully ornamented with arches, shields, and compartments with various devices; on each of its sides was a fine niche with a statue, but three of them have been filled up for inscriptions, which state when the building was first erected, that it was repaired in the reign of Charles II. and in 1746; and that the clock was given by dame Elizabeth Farringdon, relict of sir R. Farringdon, bart. "as an hourly memento of her good will to this city, 1724." This clock presents a face to the four principal streets. At every angle is a buttress crowned with a pinnacle, ornamented with crockets and terminating with a vane. On four of its sides are tablets for inscriptions, commemorating its repairs. A view of it, previous to its enclosure with an iron railing, appears in the sixth volume of the "Antiquarian Cabinet;" and latterly Mr. King has published a much larger one of its actual appearance.

* The college of vicars, near the south cloister, is unfortunately sinking to oblivion.

† See an account of near twenty protestants burned in Sussex, by Q. Mary, many of whom were examined and condemned by bishop Christopherson.—Hay's Hist. Chichester, p. 430-7.

‡ Only one instance out of thousands can here be mentioned in proof of this observation; at a late election a poor man refused 1000*l.* for his vote.

|| On the principle of the metempsychosis we should conclude, that the soul of Becket, and his followers, had re-animated the puritans; both sought to raise themselves above all earthly control; power was their god, hypocrisy their minister, and avarice their delight; alike hostile to learning, civil liberty, and moral justice, they waged an interminable war against literature, the arts and sciences; and left behind them a lasting memorial of human depravity and desolating ambition. Some traits of the Puritans or Precisians are well sketched in D'Israeli's Quarrels of Authors, vol. iii.

which, sir W. Waller's army besieged it twelve days, battered down the north-west tower of the cathedral, which has never been rebuilt, and otherwise desolated the city. The organ in the church, ornaments of the choir, brass figures, and monumental inscriptions, the valuable articles in the chapter, deanery, and canons' house, all fell a prey to their rapacity. The monuments also, which the returning reason of Waller suffered to pass unmolested, were again assailed by the fiend-like enthusiasm of sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. W. Cawley. The virtuous bishop King, although puritanically affected, fled on their approach; and his palace was plundered as if by a foreign enemy. Some of the finest works of art were shattered in pieces, or converted to more ignoble purposes. Happily the restoration put an end to such tyranny; the good prelate and his faithful clergy returned to their pastoral duties; and a negative repose supervened, till the revolution finally withered the hopes of aspiring fanaticism and superstition. Chichester is now rapidly rising to eminence among the chief cities of the kingdom; and the hospitality and taste of its inhabitants, blessed with great comeliness of person, and mental endowments, promise it an exalted rank in the scale of society.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Exterior Length, from buttress to buttress, including the west porch and lady chapel, 410 feet; interior length of the Nave, from the west entrance to the choir, 172 feet; of the Choir, 101; thence to the entrance of the library, including the sanctum sanctorum, 41 feet; Library, 82 feet; breadth of the Nave, with its four aisles, 90 feet; ditto of the Choir, 26 feet; and with its two aisles, 59 feet and a quarter; length of the Transept, 131 feet; breadth of Ditto, from east to west, 34 feet; height of the Ceiling, 65 feet; ditto of the central Tower and Spire, including the ball and vane, 300 feet; ditto of the South-west Tower, 95 feet; ditto of the Bell Tower, 120 feet; length of the West Cloister, excluding the entrance porch of the church, 83 feet; South Cloister, 193; and East Cloister, 121 feet.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1. The West End, with the entrance porch; in the centre of which is a mutilated figure, the remains of a Fresbyter John, being the arms of the see.

Plate 2, Exhibits the North-West Quarter of the cathedral, the North End of the transept, with the great Tower and Spire. In this tower is a large bell, on which a clock strikes the hours, and which is twice rung every day for prayers.

Plate 3, Represents part of the Lady Chapel, the East End of the choir, the beautiful spired turrets, and fine circular window, which illumines the building between the vaulting and roof.

Plate 4. A View of the South End of the Transept, with the great window erected by Langton, and once filled with stained glass; a considerable part of the east cloister is seen, and over it the spired turrets at the south-east end of the choir. The finely-wrought round window, over the great south one, is now entirely filled up with mortar, &c.

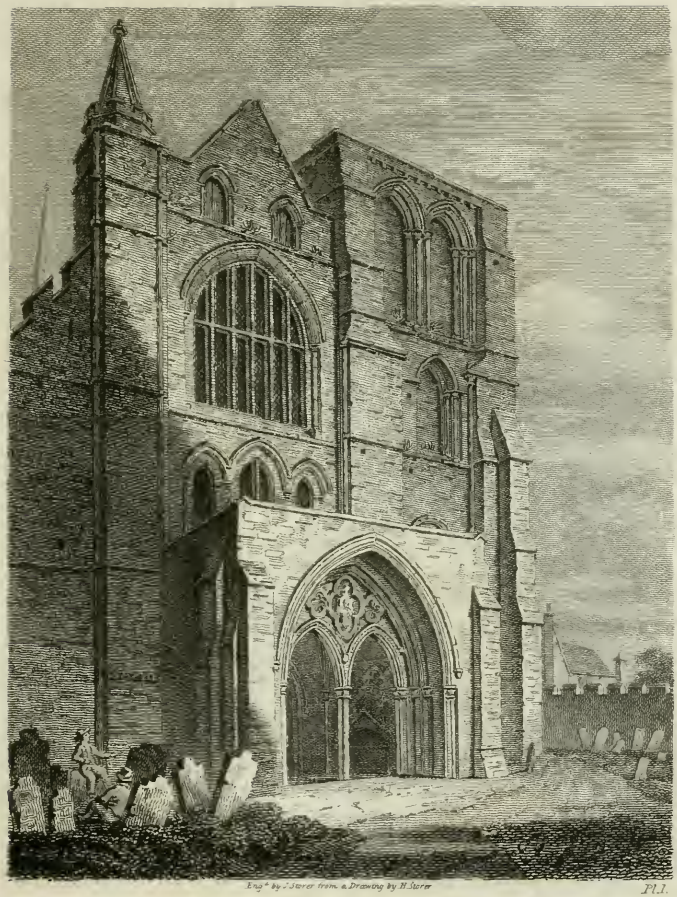
Plate 5. The Bell Tower, on the south-east side; its interior is simply divided into floors, with a flat roof, from which there is a charming prospect of a rich country, finely diversified with heights, woods, villas, and picturesque landscapes, skirted by the sea, and terminated on the west by the precipitous shores of the isle of Wight.

Plate 6, Shews the east wing of the episcopal palace, from an eminence in the bishop's garden, and part of the deanery, over which appears the west end of the cathedral and bell-tower.

Plate 7, Embraces the East End of the chapel of the bishop's palace, the South Side of the west tower of the cathedral, containing three stories of Saxon and two of pointed arches, part of the nave and its south aisles.

Plate 8. An Interior View in the north-east end of the nave, in which appear part of the screen entering the choir, and through the arch, some of the portraits of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester, which decorate the east wall of the south transept.

N. B. The ground plan will render all these parts familiar to every observer.



Engd. by J. Storer from a Drawing By H. Storer

Pl. I.

West Front, Chichester Cathedral.

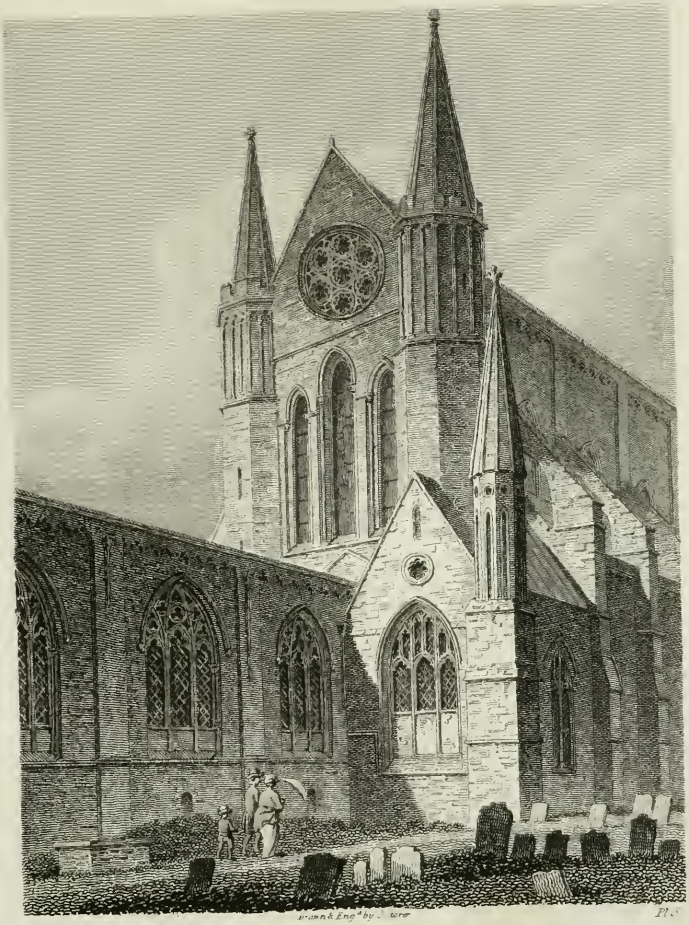
Published May 1. 1812. by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row

Pl. 2.

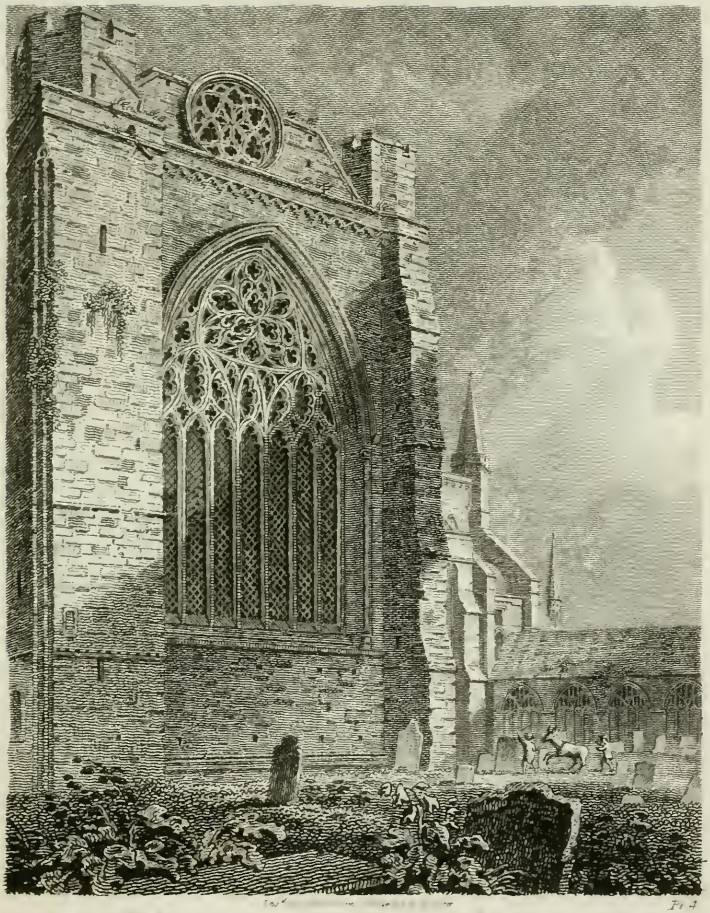
N.W. View of Chichester Cathedral.

To the Revd. Christopher Bethell, M.A. Dean of Chichester. This Plate is most Respectfully Inscribed by his humble Servt. J. Storer.

Published May 1st 1814 by Sharpe, Ludgate St. Storer, Alderman Row.



A View of Chichester Cathedral.



Pl. 4

S. Francopt Chichester Cathedral.

Published June 1st 1814 by ... Nicholl, R. Wilson, Serjeants Inn.

Pl 5

The Bell Tower, Chichester Cathedral.

Pl. 6.

Chichester Cathedral from the Bishop's Garden.

To the Right Revd. John Buckner, LL.D. Ld. Bishop of Chichester.
This Plate is most respectfully inscribed by his
Lordships most humble Servt. J. Storer.

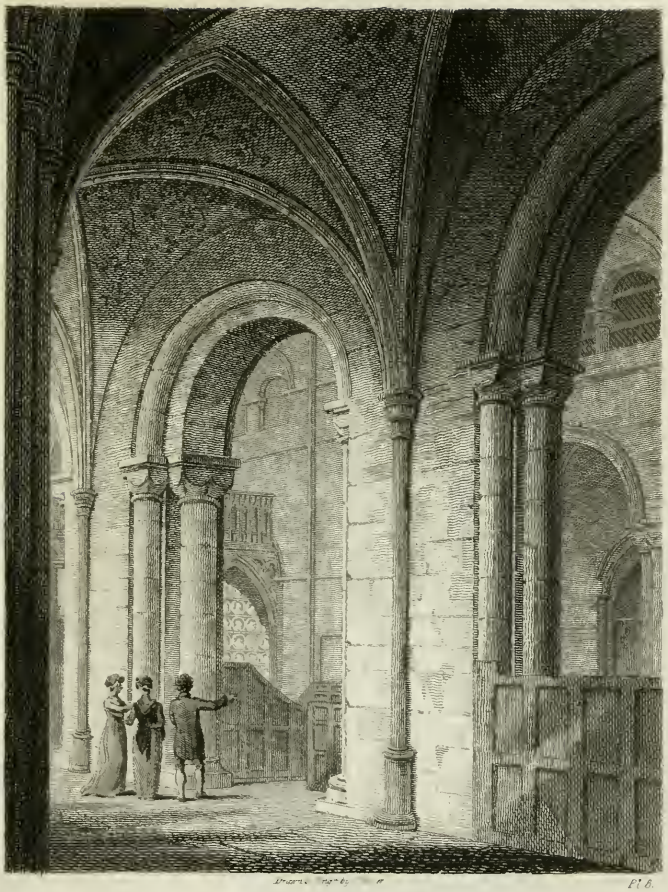
Published May 1 1812 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones Paternoster Row

Engd by J. Storer from a Drawing by H. Storer

Pl. 7.

S.W. View of Chichester Cathedral.

Published June 1st 1814 by J. Storer, 13, Weymouth Street, Portland Place.

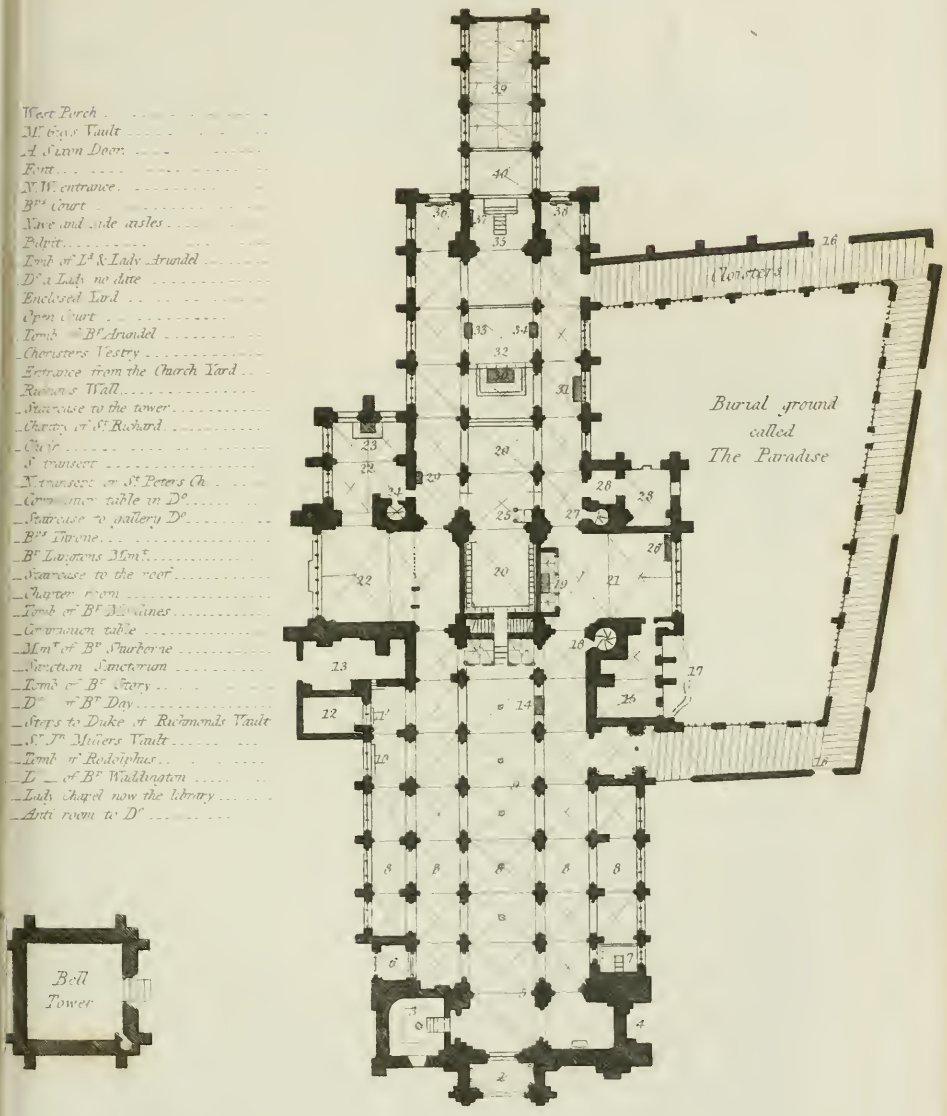


Pl. 6.

Interior of Chichester Cathedral.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL,

Shewing the grounds of the Roof.



Published June 1814 by Sherwood Neely & Jones

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Lincoln.

FEW places are equally fortunate in preserving such authentic records of their existence since the days of the Romans as the city of Lincoln. The only question on which historians have neither found evidence nor plausible conjecture, is the origin of its Roman name *Lindum.* This point perhaps we may be able to determine somewhat satisfactorily on circumstances and analogy. Camden, unable to satisfy himself that its name was derived from its woody or hilly situation, supposes it might have originated from the British word *llin,* a lake ; and to render the conjecture * more plausible, makes one of the river Witham. Lambarde and others go farther, and create a river *Lindus* to give it a name. The Lindus tradition, however, we shall shortly find is very old, but not hitherto understood. The Saxons called it Lindcollyne and Lindcyllan-ceaster, both evidently translated from *Lindum colonia,* which were written *Lindecollinum* and *Lindecollina* by Bede, the origin of the present name Lincoln. Its supposed British name of Caer-Lind is equally translated from the original name *Lindum,* as the Saxon is. Others have written it *Lindcoit* and *Lintcoit,* which are obvious corruptions of an inscriptional contraction LIND. CIVT. The same may be applied to the Norman name *Nichol,* by which this city was sometimes designated in French writings. The omission of the first and transposition of the second and third letters in names and words were very general at the final decay of the Latin and beginning of the modern European languages ; this practice continued even till after the Trobadours, and is the basis of the Limosin language, now extinct. But the true etymology of Lindum, the Λίνδον, capital of the *Coritavi* of Ptolemy, is from *Lindus,* in Rhodes. It has been the inva-

* As an example of the hardihood of writers in this respect, we might cite what Gough and others have published respecting the "Grecian Stairs" in Lincoln. Grecian or *Greestone,* they say, is corrupted from "*gress,* a sort of inclined platform, or landing-place." A very little knowledge of mineralogy would have enabled them to know, that the stone is of that kind called by the French *gres,* not *gris,* whence the term gres-stone, and by corruption grecian stairs. It abounds in the tellinites of Parkinson and other shells, and both the stairs and cathedral contain several varieties of it.

riable practice of men in all ages, it is the natural process of the human mind, to designate new and imperfectly known things by others which are more familiar, and to which they possess some analogy. This was the case at Lindum; its peculiar site and corresponding circumstances induced the Romans to denominate it after the city of Lindus in Rhodes. Some of the walls and great stones belonging to that place on the top of the hill, whose base is washed by a river like Lincoln, according to Chateaubriand, are still remaining; and a modern town has risen at the bottom. This general similarity accounts for the tradition of the water called *Lindus*, in Lincolnshire. According to Stephanus, Lindus * in Rhodes derived its name from a descendant of the Heliadæ, by a Rhodian woman †.

But whatever may be the origin of its name, both history and tradition concur in making Lincoln the head of a Roman colony ‡. That it enjoyed all the privileges of such places as well by right as by sufferance, cannot be doubted. Its situation rendered it both a military and civil station; it became powerful by its natural strength, populous by its commerce, and enlightened by the arts and sciences, which always flourish under such circumstances. The Roman arts, the coining of money of various species, manufacture of metals, and even the very distinctions between the customs of the imperial city and those of its colonies, contributed to awaken men's minds, and induce them to reason and reflect. Civilization was thus extended, knowledge was solicited, and consequently Christianity soon found many respectable votaries in Lincoln. The numerous inscriptional stones discovered in this city, bearing evidence of their Roman origin, and at the same time

* There are numerous other incidental evidences in favour of this position, which cannot here be noticed. The Heliadæ were descendants of the sun, and denominated from that luminary. Bryant has proved that the sun was also called San or Zan, and that Ham and his family were worshipped under this name, and that of Baalim. In like manner were denominated the Zaanim and Zaananim, to whom a temple was erected by the ancient Canaanites, whence the place (which was occupied by the tribe of Naphthali, and well delineated in the Scripture Atlas) was called Beth-Zaananim. (See Josh. c. xix. v. 33, Judges, c. iv. v. 11, and Micah, c. i. v. 11.) The Jews of Zaananim traded thence to Tyre, and from the latter to Lindus in Rhodes. When expelled from those parts, and obliged to wander westward, it was natural that they should visit such places as resembled either in name or situation those they had left; and hence we discover a reason why so many Jews assembled in Lincoln, and resided so long in that city.

† Vide Hom. Il. & Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. Antiq. tom. iv. p. 168 & 550.

‡ Gibbon, who either feared or hated truth so extremely, that he never contemplated more than her profile, observes, with his usual mixture of fact, fable, and misrepresentation, that "in their manners, and internal policy, the colonies formed a *perfect* representation of their great parent; and they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance; they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, of sharing in *due* time its honours and advantages." This is sufficiently inconsistent and contradictory. But Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, misled perhaps by such authority, affirms, that the colonies enjoyed the privileges of "Roman citizens." The learned Manutius, de Civit. Rom. states, more correctly, that the *coloni* had the Roman laws, and the right of serving in the legion, but were denied register in the census, right of suffrage, assessment in the poll-tax, and the title of *quirites*. It is however most probable that many of the British provinces enjoyed the privileges of *Fœderatæ Civitates*, or their own original customs, paying only some homage to Roman vanity.

the usual symbol of Christian faith, are silent but incontestible witnesses of this truth. Men of fortune and influence must have been Christians many centuries before Paulinus introduced his system of popery. Usher, Stillingfleet, and very lately Dr. Burgess*, have proved that the unadulterated religion of Christ and his apostles was propagated all over Britain at a very early period (about A. D. 60), and the Christian monunuments of various ages which have been found in this country, amply confirm their statements. The decline of the Roman power, and the incursions of barbarous Danes and warlike Saxons, were no doubt fatal to the progress of pure† Christianity. A religion adopted to man's higher faculties, would naturally sink under one founded on passion; the former may be oppressed, and perhaps exterminated; the latter can be effaced only by death. It is not, then, surprising that the British Christians either did not attempt, or if they did, entirely failed to convert their pagan invaders; their pure and rational faith, like that of the church of England, was ill calculated to engage the attention of men whose minds consisted only of a succession of the more violent passions. The pageantry of papal Rome was more congenial to the idolatrous rites of the northerns, and the worship of *Valkyriur*, the female attendants of Woden, was easily transferred to Mary, the wife of Joseph, and Mary Magdalene. Hence the reason why Paulinus, a popish missionary, and companion of Augustin, was so successful in his exertions among the Mercians.

The first authentic account of a religious edifice in Lincoln is given by Bede, who says, that Paulinus, having converted the governor, Bletta or Blecca, built here *(not* in Sidnacester), in 628, "a church of stone, of admirable workmanship, the walls of which remained firm in his days" (above a century after), "although the roof had been destroyed." We wish much that there existed any additional evidence to support the plausible conclusion of the learned King (Muni. Antiq.), "that some

* See the bishop of St. David's "Christ and not St. Peter the Rock of the Christian Church," and St. Paul the Founder of the Church in Britain," where this most important subject is stated with equal perspicuity and unanswerable argument. The following extract of a document from archbishop Davies, written in 1565, will explain many circumstances in the ecclesiastical history of Lincoln. "Warre remayned bytwixt the Bryttayns (then inhabitauntes of the realme) and the Saxons, the Bryttayns beyng Christians and the Saxons Pagans. As occasion served, they sometymes treated of peace, and then mette together, and communed together, and dyd eate and drynk together, but after that by the meanes of Austen the Saxons became Christianes in such sort, as Austen had taught them, the Bryttayns wold not after that nether cate nor drynke wyth them, nor yet salute them, bycause they corrupted with superstition, ymages, and ydolatrie, the true religion of Christe."

† "In the dark ages which followed," observes Mr. Hendy, "almost every vestige of learning disappeared in Europe. Christianity severely felt the blow. Although its doctrines and its precepts were delivered with a simplicity and precision which should have prevented corruption, yet it degenerated into the grossest superstition, and was disgraced by the monstrous errors of the Romish church. A barbarous custom prevailed among the monks of erasing the works of Greek and Roman writers, in order to substitute the legends of their saints. Thus did superstition rise on the ruins of classical learning." Ox. Prize Essay. Classic. Journ. No. 12.

part at least of the very curious west front, which had in Bede's time defied the devastation of the first ruin, defied also the depredation of later ages, and was preserved by Remigius on account of its beauty, whatever additions he might make to it." Two unequivocal facts tend to favour this supposition; the first is, that Remigius appropriated the parish church of Mary Magdalene (the dedication to a woman could not offend the heathens) to his cathedral; the second is the united testimony of historians *, that he began his work in 1088 and finished it in 1092. Four years, it must be allowed, would not be sufficient to take down a church, and build up another on its site, even were it not half the dimensions of Lincoln cathedral. Such an undertaking could not at present be executed in that space of time, and still less in an age when skilful mechanics were not so numerous. If then, as would seem probable, Remigius only added something to Magdalene's church, it is perfectly fair to conclude that the latter must have been the remains of the building raised by Paulinus and Blecca. To this may be opposed the opinion of Stukeley, a man whom it is much easier to censure than to rival, that the present church of St. Paul is the remains of Paulinus's church. Gough, however, rejects the idea, and the verbal inference drawn from the name is no argument. Upon the whole, there is, unequivocally, a connected chain of probable evidence, which furnishes a very strong presumption that part of the present edifice is really the work of the seventh century.

Before entering into a more minute account of this cathedral, it is necessary to take a concise view of the various sees from which that of Lincoln, properly so called, originally emanated. The ancient diocess was of very great extent. It might have been denominated the bishopric of Mercia as well as of the West Saxons. It had four different sees in that diocess prior to the present in Lincoln, besides Ely, Peterburgh, and Oxford, which were afterwards taken from it. The first was at Dorchester, fixed there in 636 by Birinus, a missionary, sent by pope Honorius to convert the West Saxons to popery, the Britons having firmly and nobly adhered to their original apostolical church and creed planted by St. Paul. He succeeded so far as to induce king Kinigils to appoint him bishop of the province. On his death,

* Notwithstanding this, there are some particulars which it is necessary to notice. In Domesday Book, p. 344, vol. i. we read "Terra Epi. Lincoliensis," &c. This was written in 1086, two years before Remigius began to build, six before the completion of the cathedral, and consequently before the existence of a bishopric of Lincoln. In the *Chronologia Augustin. Cantuar.* we find the translation of the see from Dorchester to Lincoln stated to be in 1078, twelve years after the conquest, and 481 after the advent of St. Augustin. How are these statements to be reconciled? Did Remigius fix his see in Lincoln ten years before he began to build? It is true, William's decrees for removing the sees of bishops from small to large towns, in order to keep down the people more effectually, were issued prior to this; but no reason is given why the see was not removed from Dorchester to Lincoln even before 1088. The MS. statement that the building was begun in 1086 makes little difference; and Beatson's opinion is unsupported.

in 650, he was succeeded by Agilbert, who, about 659, took offence at the division of his diocess by the erection of Winchester into a distinct see, and fled to France in 661 or 662, where he was made bishop of Paris. Wina was bishop of Winchester till 666, when he was deposed, and succeeded by Eleutherius. This bishop again restored the see of Dorchester to its original consequence; but at his demise in 676, his successor, Hedda, removed it to Winchester, and also carried off the body of Birinus, afterwards called saint.

In 678, a bishopric of Sidnacester (generally believed to be Stow), was erected, and in the following year another of Leicester. The only bishops of Dorchester which we find after this, were Berthun and Higebert, from 752 to 794. The first bishop of Sidnacester was Eadhed or Hedda *; he was succeeded by Ethelwyn 679, Eadgar 701, Kinebert or Cymbert 720, Alwigh 732, Eadulf or Adulf 750, Ceolulf 765, Ealdulf or Eadwulf 787 or 797, and Brightred or Berthred, who was probably massacred by the Danes in 873; there being no longer any safe place for a bishop in that district, Sidnacester again immerged into Dorchester.

The first bishop of Leicester was Cuthwinus from Lichfield, who united these sees till 691, when Wilfrid, called saint, being banished from York, availed himself of the place till 703; he was ejected by a decree of the synod of Nustrefold, and this bishopric again fell into that of Lichfield, till about 737, when Totta was consecrated. He was succeeded by Eadbert in 764, and the latter by Werenbert; but the exact period of his pastoral charge cannot be determined, as the historians and chroniclers differ widely in this respect. Unwona or Inwode was bishop in 786; he was the king's chancellor, and was succeeded by Rethun in 806. Here again much uncertainty prevails. Aldred was bishop in 861, was deposed in 873; and Ceolred, who was the last bishop of this see, fled before the Danish desolations in 874 to Dorchester. Thus ended the sees of Sidnacester and Leicester.

Halardus or Ealhard was bishop of Dorchester in 886; it is said that he died of the plague there in 897. The see was vacant some years, when Ceolwulf or Kenulf was in 905 elected bishop, by order of a synod. Wolstan was his successor, but became archbishop of York in 941. Oskytill, according to Browne Willis, filled the see twenty-two years; but Leowic held it from 954 to 959; Ailnoth or Ælfnoth till about 976; and Ascywn or Escwy to 995; Alfhelm in 996; Eadnoth, abbot of Ramsey, in 1008; Eadheric or Etheric in

* We have to regret the impossibility of fixing the true orthography of these names, as every writer from Bede to Browne Willis, and Gough, has followed his own caprice, apparently in contempt of all analogy or etymological propriety.

1017; Eadnoth the second in 1034; and Ulf or Rothulf, the king's chaplain, in 1046 or 1050. He, and Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, with other foreigners, whom vague writers called Normans, fled to France, and were outlawed about 1052. Wulfic, Wulfsinus, or Wulvinus, is said to have been the next bishop; but some writers have confounded him with his predecessor; and it is not improbable that the pope, who was then endeavouring to exercise his authority, procured a reversion of his outlawry, and his restoration. The political distractions of the country at this period were such as to create general confusion; and accordingly we find the name of Alexander as bishop of Dorchester in 1067; and of his being deposed by the Norman conqueror in 1070. He was succeeded by one of William's followers, Remigius of Fecamp, in Normandy, who has since been most injuriously called a papal saint. Such were the origin and progress of the episcopal sees, from which arose that of Lincoln. It is proper to observe, that hitherto the erection, suppression, or translation of sees, were all acts entirely independent of any foreign power, of any mandate from the bishop of Rome, or any spiritual supremacy whatever; they were either done by permission or order of the lawful sovereign, or by decrees of synods, consisting of the national ecclesiastics lawfully assembled, to protect and direct the affairs of the church and the interests of religion. It is true, a few ambitious individuals, hoping to become more than men, did occasionally consult and solicit the pope on various things; his missionaries also, from Augustin to the present day, endeavoured to extend his civil power by representations of his *supposed* celestial influence; but no regular authority or inherent power was officially recognized in him till long after the Norman invasion. Even in 1391 his authority was denied in a council at Westminster.

The conqueror finding some difficulty in reconciling the English to his shackles, artfully procured an "order or canon for the removal of sees from small villages or undefended towns to populous and fenced towns, where the religious might, under protection, and freedom from danger of invasion by armed forces, exercise their devotion." In consequence of this decree, bishop Remigius fixed on Lincoln as a strong place, alleging that it was necessary to have a central situation to diminish the labour of visiting his diocess *. He commenced his build-

* He is represented as being the cause of William's building Stephen's abbey, at Caen, in Normandy, as well as Battle abbey in England, as very charitable, feeding daily during three months in the year above a thousand poor persons (whence came such a number?), clothing above 150 that were blind, lame, and unable to help themselves, and had thirteen poor people to dine with him every day. Browne Willis, with great simplicity, adds, he "was an assiduous preacher, and *received the Sacrament every Sunday!*" This good protestant seems not to have known, that popish priests take their sacrament, or "eat their God" every time they read mass, should that be twelve or twenty times in the day. If the bishop be present he always partakes of it.

ing in 1088, and had it finished in 1092; but, observes Simeon of Durham, two days before that fixed for the consecration *(dedicatio)* of his cathedral, it was the will of God to remove him from this world*. He was a man of talent, energy, and resolution; and his contest with the archbishop of York, who claimed Lincoln as belonging to his diocess, proves his address and knowledge of the world.

The plan of bishop Remigius's building, say Leland and others, was that of a double cross: at the west end were two towers, and one at the intersection of the greater transept with the nave and choir. The latter was taken down, the two former remain. From the west front, which had three circular arched doors, to the greater transept, were eight circular arches, surmounted by a corresponding tier of windows. In the centre of the wall above the arches was a passage leading to the windows round the church, and a communication between the centre and western towers. On the eastern side of the greater or western transept were six arches, each of which included a chapel, dedicated to some deceased person. From the greater to the east side of the less transept were five arches; east of these was only one other arch on each side, after which the north and south aisles formed a semicircular junction (somewhat profanely called a tribune) at the east end of the cathedral, behind the great altar. Here were three altars; one was dedicated to the Virgin, and another to William the conqueror. Such was the building which historians have ascribed to Remigius.

Of this singular bishop it is necessary to take some more particular notice. He came to England from a convent at Fecamp, a small sea-port town between Dieppe and Havre de Grace, and hence historians and topographers have unanimously called him a Norman, with just the same propriety as the French call Scots, Irish, and Americans *Anglois*. True, he was named from Fescamp, which also furnished an abbot to Peterburgh, but such an appellation is no proof of his being a native of that place; patronymics were not then generally adopted; men, and particularly friars, were denominated after their order or convent, as many still are in Portugal, as John, Antony, &c. of Christ. Remigius † was a familiar name in Verona, and other parts of Italy; it

* Bloet completed the cathedral, and says Knyghton, de Event. Angl. lib. ii. c. 6, slothfully (segniter) consecrated it. According to bishop Sanderson (Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. ii.) the subsequent dedication of this cathedral by Hugh was thus recorded in an inscription on a pillar over the font: "Hec Ecclesia dicata est in honore S. Trinitatis & S. Marie ii. iii. iv. Martii, a Domino Hugone Lincolnie Episcopo, Anno ab incarnatione Domini M.C.XCII. Tempore Ricardi Regis."

† There was a Remigius, a noble Gaul, said to be archbishop of Rheims 75 years, who died in 533, and was deified by the pope in 1049. On this occasion his body was taken out of the grave, say Croiset and Canturani, Lives of the Saints, and found perfectly fresh and uncorrupted after lying in the earth 516 years! As this dead man was placed among the papal gods after the birth of the bishop of Lincoln, it cannot be inferred that he derived his Christian name from him, as has been usual in latter times. Many places on the continent bear the name of Remy,

is also more common in the south than in the north of France. In this uncertainty respecting the birth-place of our ecclesiastical architect, fortunately the chronicler Bromton has furnished us with one physical fact. "Erat iste Remigius statura parvus sed corde magnus, colore *fuscus* sed operibus venustus." This jingling antithesis perhaps depicts the man; of a short stature but a great mind, of a swarthy or black complexion but a graceful deportment. The Normans of that age were neither black nor swarthy; on the contrary, they and the Saxons, as well as all the people of the north, were fair. A considerable number of fair persons are still seen in Upper Normandy, and Picardy. Hence, from the colour and name of Remigius, if we are not justified in pronouncing him an Italian, we may at least affirm that he could not be a real Norman. If this can be proved, and we think it unquestionable, the dreams about Norman architecture *, engendered by national prejudice and vulgar credulity, must vanish before the light of historical truth. The splendid edifice of Remigius has long been considered the most unequivocal testimony of the genius and skill of Norman builders; but if its author was not a Norman, as we have shewn, it is a gratuitous assumption destined either to detract from the merit of Englishmen or disguise the truth. The age of Norman delusion happily is past; so is the degrading system of imitating the French. The first invaders of a country generally make the greatest change in its national character; hence Englishmen owe more to the Romans and Saxons than to any other people.

Remige, or Remigio. The deification or apotheosis of dead men and women first took place in Rome in 993. This process, a most astonishing one for persons reading and professing to believe the New Testament, was very similar to what Warburton, Div. Legat. states "superinduced the worship of dead men to the primary idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies, by complimenting them with the name of that being which was most esteemed and reverenced."

* It is an arduous task to penetrate the mountains of error which antiquaries have heaped together respecting "Norman architecture;" they have also done it as rudely as the masons have applied their plaster to some of the finest pieces of early art. Ducarel, in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, dedicated to bishop Lyttleton, a man who had some very clear conceptions of truth on this subject, says the ancient Normans, though a fierce and warlike people, were more inclined to protect and secure their possessions than to extend their conquests in France, and that they cultivated the arts of peace. It is extraordinray that such an opinion could be offered by any man the least acquainted with history; their wars with France were as perpetual as those of the English have been; even in 1054 it raged between Henry I. and the duke of Normandy. In Gifford's History of France, vol. i. there is a more correct and very impartial account of the Normans. Again, Ducarel observes that Bourgachard church has narrow windows with round arches and zigzag mouldings, which in "particular hath been supposed to be indisputable criterion of Saxon buildings; but it cannot be imagined that the Saxons taught the French the art of building," p. 45. No: but they might shew them architectural ornaments. Yet, why could not the Saxons teach the Normans civil or ecclesiastical as well as naval architecture? We know the Saxons' naval superiority (Campbell's Lives of the Admirals), and there is more analogy between building ships and houses than is commonly supposed. Besides, many of the Saxon architectural ornaments, particularly the zigzag, have an outline exactly similar to the track of a vessel sailing along coasts. But we shall let Ducarel answer himself, which he does most satisfactorily. "The inhabitants of Normandy," he truly observes, "to this day, have a tradition; 'when the English were obliged to forsake that province, they 'left behind them many valuable treasures.' *The fact is true, and Normandy is filled with them.*" p. 1. Witness the above church, and those of St. Thomas, Stephen, and Trinity, at Caen.

Respecting the west front, antiquaries have wantoned in speculations on its erection, its authors, its ages, and its distinct eras. It is generally admitted that part at least of this front, and of the two west towers, belonged to the original church, and Gough thinks an arch also on each side of the present edifice. This admission however is made under the impression that the whole was built by Norman architects. This front is seen in pl. 2, and the great west door pl. 1. The doors are highly ornamented, and most probably the circular niches had statues, as two small figures still remain. Over the niches is a kind of listel or band, consisting of eighteen distinct pieces of sculpture, possibly executed for some other purpose, but not placed in their present position subsequent to the erection of this front. These sculptures exhibit rude figures, not quite so hideous, indeed, as the devils of Croyland *, but blending, as usual with papists, pagan fables, and historical facts recorded in the Old and New Testament †. One represents the angel driving out Adam and Eve, another blessed spirits ascending to Heaven, while others are sinking in the Styx, and something like a cerberus appears: friars and nuns are numerous; one is prostrate like Francis of Assis; serpents and long-tailed monsters fill up the groups, which are by no means too delicate. The style of some of these pieces bears a considerable analogy to that of the Roman brick in Cambridge. (See Antiquarian Cabinet, vol. ii.)

Robert Bluet or Bloet, who had the fortune of finishing the work of his more worthy predecessor, was chaplain to king William, and chancellor to Rufus; he added twenty-one prebendaries to the like number established by Remigius. Although a royal chaplain, and even chancellor, prior to becoming a bishop, he was, says Knyghton, a most profligate, indolent, and licentious man *(vir libidinosus)*. Hence perhaps the cause of his being traditionally called the "swineherd of Stow." It is said that he gave a peck of silver pennies towards the building. His exaltation sufficiently indicates the character and principles of the Norman William and his *red*-haired successor ‡. The year after

* Guthlac, a monk, describes "the Devils which formerly haunted Crowland," as having "blubber lips, fire-spitting mouths, scaley visages, enormous heads, strutting teeth, pointed chins, hoarse throats, sable skins, spindle shoulders, tun bellies, burning loins, hawmed legs, tailed buttocks," &c.

† "The rudely carved scriptural figures which often occur in bas-reliefs, placed under the arches of door cases, where the head of the door itself is square, indicate a Roman original, and are mostly referable to an era immediately preceding the conquest; but the very curious representation of the deluge, over the great doorway of the cathedral at Lincoln, seems to have been subsequent to it." *Dallaway* on English Architect.

‡ This is another proof of the origin and character of the Normans: as it generally happens that there is a great similarity between grandfathers and grandsons, even when there is little between fathers and sons, the appearance of Rufus indicates his Danish affinity. To persons little acquainted with human nature such distinctions may appear trifling; but whoever has viewed mankind with a more philosophical eye, will be sensible of their necessity, and even utility. The physiognomy of the ancient Greeks is still visible in Granada; that of the

Bloet's death the cathedral was injured, destroyed, or assailed by fire, but how or to what extent neither chroniclers nor antiquaries have ventured to determine. The most authentic and comprehensive account of the subsequent re-edifications and additions, called "New Works," to this church, is contained in a letter from Mr. Bradley, in 1775, to governor Pownall, in aid of the theory that the Society of freemasons were the architects of Europe.

"A. D. 1124. The church was burnt down. Bishop Alexander, in the historical accounts given to the public, is said to have rebuilt it with an *arched* roof, for preventing the like accident. But John de Scalby, canon of Lincoln, and bishop d'Alberby's register and secretary, says of Robert de Chesney (who succeeded Alexander), that he "primus ecclesiam voltis lapideis communivit, 1147." 1186, John de Scalby says of Hugh the Burgundian, bishop of Lincoln, that he "fabricam ecclesiæ a fundamentis construxit novam." This can relate only to alterations and repairs of the old church, for the new east end was not begun to be built till 120 years after.

"In 1244-5 the great tower fell down, and greatly damaged the church. Very little was done to repair the disaster till the time of Oliver Sutton, elected bishop in 1279. The first thing which he set about, was extending the close wall, but not so far to the east as it now is, for it was, as will be seen, farther enlarged; and he afterwards completely repaired, in concurrence with the dean and chapter, the old church; so that the whole was finished, painted, and white-washed, after the year 1290. When this work was done, the great tower was carried up no higher than to the part where the large windows begin, and where the bells now hang*. The upper part was, with the other *new work*, begun sixteen years after.

northerns in Normandy; and even in our own country we see traits of local character survive the lapse of centuries. But Mezeray shews us the indocility and barbarity of the pagan Normans not very long prior to the time that some English antiquaries would have us believe that all our artists and men of learning were imported from Normandy. "Une *grande partie* des Normands etoient encore *idolatres* (A. D. 950), et il en arrivoit tous les jours de nouvelles bandes du Septentrion, qui les rechauffoient dans leur *vieille superstition*. Apres la mort de Guillaume, ils se revolterent contre son fils, et le voulurent *contraindre de renoncer au bapteme*. Hugues le Grand le secourut contre ces rebelles impies, et les battit en diverses rencontres. Cependant quelques flotes de ces barbares profitant des divisions qui etoient en Bretagne, firent un grand carnage de Bretons, et prirent la ville de Dol, dont l'Eveque fut accable par la foule de ceux qui se sauvoient dans son eglise."—Doubtless these pagan savages were well qualified to build superb churches!

* They are six in number, and still called the lady bells, from their use in the papal worship of Mary. Bishop Greathead began the tower, which was not finished till many years after, when it was terminated by a very lofty wooden spire, covered with lead. This spire was blown down in 1547, and injured many of the battlements and other parts, which were not completely repaired till 1775. The two western towers had similar spires, which were taken down in 1808. This act of uniformity would have been effected much sooner had not the citizens been so much attached to their imposing aspect, as appears from a curious document, given by the historian of Lincoln. "On Tuesday, September 20, 1726, when the workmen began by order of some of the masters of the cathedral, to pull down the two west spires, a mob arose to the number of about 500 men, in order to prevent it; and on Wednesday the masters of the church desired the mayor

" 1306. The dean and chapter contracted with Richard de Stow, mason, to attend to and employ other masons under him, for the *new work*; at which time the new additional east end (see pl. 3), as well as the upper part of the great tower and the transepts were done. He contracted to do the plain work by measure, and the fine carved work and images by the day. In 1313 the dean and chapter carried the close still farther eastward, so as to enlarge the canons' houses, mansions, chancellory, and other houses at the east end of the minster yard. In the year 1321 the *new work* was not finished; for bishop Burghwash, finding that those who were entrusted to collect the money given by *voluntary contribution*, and legacies to the church, detained the same, and were backward in their payment, published an excommunication against such offenders in this way, which tended ' in ' retardationem fabricæ.'

" It may be collected that the whole was finished about 1324, although this is no where specified. The late bishop Lyttleton conjectured that all was finished about 1283. Conjecturers are led into this mistake by supposing that the work was finished soon after king Henry III.'s charter, granted *for enlarging the church and close.* But this was not the case, as appears by the above extracts.

" In 1380 John Welburn was treasurer; he built the tabernacle at the high altar, the north and east parts as now standing; and the south was rebuilt after, to make the north and south sides uniform. He was *master* of the fabric, and the principal promoter of making the two stone arches under the west towers, and the vault of the high tower; and caused the statues of the kings over the west great door to be placed there."

" N. B. This *new work* is all of the regular order of Gothic architecture, as I have supposed it to be finally established by the freemasons. The rest of the church is in part the *opus Romanum*, and partly of the style of the first essays of the Gothic." Archaeol. ix. 124-6.

The architectural history of the body of this cathedral is by no means so accurate and complete as that of its remoter parts. To Hugh de Grenoble, a Burgundian *, and bishop in 1186, who was deified

and aldermen to give satisfaction to the town, by sending the bellman about with this cry, ' Whereas there has been a tumult, for these two days past, about pulling down the two west ' spires of the church, this is to give notice to the people of the city, that there is a stop put to ' it, and that the spires shall be repaired again with all speed;' after which the mob, with one accord, gave a great shout, and said, ' God bless the King'."—Hist. of Lincoln p. 70.

* It should here be remarked, that this episcopal architect was not a Norman; the greatest dupes of Norman prejudices call him a Burgundian. The chapter-house windows are somewhat similar to those of Melrose abbey, where there is an inscription announcing the architect to be John Murdo, a *Parisian*, who built it in 1146; and also Nythsdale, Galloway, Glasgow cathedral, which was founded in 1123 and finished in 1136, Paisley abbey 1164, and St. Andrew's cathedral in 1161. The latter has small circular arches, and is in the style denominated Saxon. The pitch of its arches is very similar to that of the arches in Cordova cathedral.

in 1201 by the name of St. Hugh, is generally ascribed the erection of the choir, eastern transept, and chapter-house. Some, indeed, have attributed more to him, and Gough very learnedly supposes that the stone vaulting erected by Alexander was too heavy for the original walls, and that in consequence of the lateral pressure Hugh found it necessary to take down and re-model the building, giving it pointed arches and enormous buttresses. This notion of weakness is not very consistent with the fact, that the walls were so thick as to admit of arched passages to the windows round the church. The vaulting, it is also alleged, was only over the aisles, and had there been any defect in the outside walls, it would have been easy to shore them with buttresses. A more rational cause was the anxiety of the bishop to extend his own reputation, to repair chapels, only that he might have the honour of dedicating them to his favourite gods, and be himself enrolled among the number in the papal pantheon. A more important addition however was the union of the body with the west towers and front, which Mr. Essex supposes was done by bishops Hugh de Wells and Greathead, between 1209 and 1250. The latter, it is said, finished the nave, great transept, and carried the centre tower a story above the roof. But we cannot substitute conjectures for recorded facts. This was a period in our history (the reign of Henry III.) so abundant in licentiousness, fable, and delusion, that very few well-attested facts can be found in the works of its chroniclers or annalists. The revenue of foreign ecclesiastics, whose only business was that of fabricating falsehoods to delude and plunder the English, was then double that of the crown. The people were beggared, and the king so distressed by them, that he was impelled to rob the Jews and afterwards murder them! Here also we have another money-making device of papal rapacity, the tale of the Jews crucifying a child in Lincoln about 1256*. Prior to this the

* In exposing this iniquitous scheme, it is necessary to state some authority, as many well meaning men have received it for historical truth. The judicious Rapin calls it a "calumny invented by the enemies of the Jews:" the honest and veracious Fuller knew not how these crimes were proved; but "in such cases *weak* proofs are of proof against *rich* offenders;" and "if their persons were guilty of *some* faults, their *estates* were of *all* the rest." Yet Dr. Tovey, Anglia Judaica, cites the king's commission, "*ad faciendum* pleniorem *inquisitionem*," (a proof that doubts existed), and "*ad inquirendum*," on this subject, as satisfactory evidence of the fact. But the chief authority is Matthew Paris, a monk, who seems not to have known that there was such a thing as truth or falsehood in existence. (See Dales's Essay on the Study of English History.) This monk gravely tells us how the child was first fattened for ten days (no very long time) with white bread and milk in a secret chamber; and then how almost all the Jews in England were invited to the crucifixion; and afterwards when it came to be buried, how the earth cast it up again, and would not retain it in her bowels; then how it was thrown into a well, and there found by the child's own mother, who prosecuted several Jews, and had them hanged (some say 18, others 100!) for it; and lastly, how the body was given to the canons of Lincoln to make a martyr of. It is true, cruelty is often great in proportion to the smallness of its cause; but although a papist or a Mohammedan may believe such tales, surely no Christian or rational being can. This supposed crucifixion renders it necessary to notice another and more extraordinary error of the papal church. All the crucifixes and figures of Christ used in

(m)

king had extorted one third of all their property, and they had solicited leave to depart the kingdom, but were refused. The priests, however, determined to raise money as well as the sovereign, contrived this project, to manufacture a god, obtained the dead body of a child, reported that it had been crucified, called it Hugh, made it a saint, and the contributions of the devotees who came to worship its tomb, was to the see another valuable estate, free of all incumberances, and worth many thousands a year. A gold shrine was afterwards erected in the cathedral, but whether it was of hammered or cast gold, the legislators of antiquarianism have not yet been able to determine. The better taste of Messrs. Lysons, we doubt not, will consign this, and many other such questions, to lasting repose.

The numerous panegyrics on the noble front need not here be repeated *. On the north-west side of the eastern transept is a chapel built by St. Hugh, which has retained all its ornaments and figures in a perfect state. From this transept is the passage into the cloisters. Near the west cloister is a shed raised to preserve the Roman pavement lately discovered here; the north cloister is converted into a library and cabinet of antiquities, in which are many very curious articles, as knives, swords †, urns, &c. On the east side of the cloisters is the entrance to the chapter-house, pl. 9. On the south-west side of the less transept are the lavatory, containing a curious stone laver like a trough, and the vestry, which has nothing peculiar. In the greater or west transept the dean and chapter sometimes held their consistory court ‡. The

papal worship, represent the feet of the Saviour as *nailed* to the cross; all painters do the same. Francis, called the seraphic saint, went farther; he affirmed that Christ on Mount Alvernus impressed the *five* marks on his body, the nail holes in his feet and hands, and the sword-wound in the side, the same as were inflicted on the body of Jesus on Mount Calvary. The Dominicans laughed at the tale, but a bull from the infallible pope rendered it an article of faith necessary to salvation! Strange that the judicious Mosheim, vol. iii. and all his learned translators and annotators, not even excepting bishop Gleig, have admitted the thing as a fact, supported by unquestionable evidence. The truth is, no nails were ever passed through the Saviour's feet; the legs were bound to the cross with cords, a thing which would have been unnecessary had the feet been nailed to it. It was the Roman custom also, *sicut mos eorum suffringere ossa*, as observed by Lactantius, to brake the legs (those of the thieves were broken, John xix. 32), in order, says Grotius, that they should not escape; and Hammond, that death might be hastened. Cicero observes this custom as universal, because *perire eum non posse, nisi ei crura fracta essent*. Le Clerc has noticed the general mistake of painters in this respect; yet Burder, Oriental Customs, falls into the vulgar papal error. See also John, xx. 27.

* That of lord Burlington is sufficiently trite. Don Antonio Ponz, in his *Viage Fuera de Espana*, which probably suggested to Mr. Southey the idea of Espriella's Letters, observes, that architecture must make great progress in England, because the study of it is made a branch of noble education, and cites several nobles who were great architects. Among these is lord Burlington; but we suspect the example of the peer will be long remembered with respect, when that of the architect will only excite contempt or indignation.

† For a very laboured defence of pagan implements adopted in papal worship, and for the conversion of urns into holy-water pots, the reader is referred to a letter of M. Pouyard in Millin's *Magazin Encyclopedique, Aout* 1810.

‡ According to Browne Willis, the see has a bishop, dean, precentor, chancellor, subdean, six archdeacons, fifty-two prebendaries, and others, amounting to 118 persons. Hody, Hist. of Convocation, enumerates eight archdeacons, and alleges their number as a cause why so large a diocess had no proctors, the archdeacons being sent to convocations. It had formerly eight episcopal palaces, but it has now only one at Buckden, Huntingdonshire.

chantries in both ends of this transept are separated by screen work. Projecting from the south-west corner of this transept is an elegant porch, called a galilee; but the term is not very correct, as this church never formed part of a convent, and consequently could have no noviciates or penitents. It is said that the building of it was commenced by bishop Wells, and finished by Greathead. In this transept once stood the superb shrine of bishop Alderby, often called a saint. It is said to have consisted of a rich canopy, and marble altar tomb, supported by massy pillars of silver, enriched with diamonds and rubies, and enclosed with rails of silver gilt. Not a vestige of this pagan luxury remains*. There is a chapel on the south side in rear of the west front, now used as a consistory court. Opposite to this, on the north side, is a chapel for morning prayers, containing the old font, pl. 7.

We have now to ascend the west towers, to take a view of a singular kind of flat arch, called "the elastic stone beam," which nearly crosses the west end of the nave, or rather abuts on the two west towers. Neither the constructor nor use of this catenarian arch is known, and it has been noticed by only one writer †. It is placed between the vaulting and the roof of the nave, and according to the accurate measurement of the ingenious Mr. Espin, is 29½ feet long, 21 inches broad, 21 in diameter at each end, and only 12 in the centre. Its upper surface is level, its under one slightly concave; it is composed of many large stones, every one of which is a key-stone, and is so sensibly elastic, as to vibrate very forcibly when leaped or trod upon. Hence we are inclined to think that it has been built with the design of propagating the sound either to or from Great Tom, and not we apprehend without effect.

After surveying this magnificent edifice, we naturally turn to its spiritual chiefs, of whom there have been fifty-eight from Remigius to the present enlightened and pious bishop. Many of them were men of great talents and learning, who gave a feature to the character of future generations. Cardinals Beaufort, of whom Shakspeare has said so much, and Wolsey, who is still better known, were both bishops of Lincoln. But the greatest luminary of a dark age was bishop Robert Greathead, whose

* Among the most laudable changes must be mentioned that of removing the mural tablets and paltry monuments from the walls and pillars of the cathedral, placing them in the side chapels, and repairing the parts which had been hewn away to receive them. In general, such things are much more faithful monuments of the vanity of the living than of the virtues of the dead. The maxim also *de mort.* &c. often sanctions the promulgation of the grossest falsehood. According to bishop Sanderson and Mr. Peck, there were 166 monuments in the cathedral prior to the devastations of the Puritans. The same writers mention that a number of pieces of gods "were deposited in the west end of the south belfry, with great solemnity, prayer, and loud bell-ringing in 1501." These relics consisted of "a bone of St. Stephen, proto-martyr, another of bishop St. Hugh, flesh of St. Bartholomew, apostle, a bone of St. James, finger bone of St. Thomas, relics of the martyrs Marcelli and Marcellini, and stones of Mount Sinai!"

† See a judicious and useful little "History of Lincoln," printed by A. Stark, in 1810.

real name was *Copley*, but nicknamed by the French and their copiers, Grosseteste or Grostete, according to the writer's knowledge of ancient or modern French. Even Matthew Paris admits, that he was "a dreadful antagonist to the pope, a faithful monitor to his sovereign, a lover of truth, a reprover of prelates, director of priests, instructor of the clergy, supporter of scholars, preacher to the people, diligent searcher of the scriptures, the hammer of the Romanists," &c. He was more—a protestant in popish times, and a true born English prelate when the church was devoured by Italian wolves. He filled the see of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, and died a bishop in defiance of papal excommunication. He questioned the pope's right to appoint foreign priests to English benefices, refused to make a prebendary of his bastard son, called a nephew, and a mere boy; at this Innocent IV. became enraged, and exclaimed, "Shall this old dotard, whose sovereign is my vassal, lay down rules to me? by St. Peter and St. Paul, I will make such an example of him as shall amaze the whole world." He kept his oath, and hurled all the satanic vengeance of the Vatican at the devoted head of the virtuous bishop; but his thunderbolts recoiled on himself, and the world was surprised to see a solitary English bishop overcome the power of the papal monster. Hence perhaps the origin of the extraordinary tale gravely told by Knyghton, l. ii. c. 36, that bishop Greathead after his death appeared one night to the pope in his episcopal robes, ordered him to "rise, wretch, and come to judgment;" struck him with his pastoral staff on the left side under the heart, when the pope was found dead the next morning, and his linen covered with blood! Notwithstanding this, such was the reputation of Greathead, that his memory narrowly escaped the last disgrace, that of canonization. His works prepared the way for Wickliffe*, and the latter for the reformation. Lastly, on looking minutely into the history of our country, we can discover, notwithstanding the thick veil of Norman and papal misrepresentation, the existence of a free, independent, and unadulterated English church, from the commencement of Christianity to the present day. To this does Britain owe her intellectual superiority. In her limited territories in all Christian ages she has ever possessed more science than all the votaries of papal superstition in the world. Papists have evinced imagination but no judgment; the very basis of popery is the extinction of mind, that of Christianity, its expansion and cultivation. Superstition, truly defined by Dr. Cogan, is but a consecrated selfishness, true religion the negation of self. The vicissitudes in the history of Lincoln cathedral illustrate this truth;

* For a satisfactory account of this reformer's works, see the excellent "Elements of Christian Theology," by the bishop of Lincoln, vol. ii. p. 16.—See also his "Charge," &c. June 1812.

and few districts in England can boast of so many truly great and good men. The county which produced that patriot Burleigh, that luminary of piety and science, Newton, must ever be mentioned with respect in the annals of protestantism and of truth.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

EXTERIOR length of the cathedral to the extremity of the buttresses 524 feet, of the west front 174, and of the great transept to the extremity of the corner buttresses 250. Height of the two west towers from the ground to the leads 84 feet, thence to the top 96, or total height of each 180 feet. These towers had spires of wood covered with lead, which were taken down in 1808; each measured from the base to the ball 89 feet; the ball 2, and thence to the top of a vane rod 10, making 101 feet; total height of towers and spires 281 feet. Width of these towers each 35. Height of central tower 270 feet; corner pinnacles 30 feet; in all 300. Width 53 feet.

INTERIOR length of the nave from the west door to the great transept 213 feet, or extending to the screen of the choir 252; length of the choir 158; from the end of the choir to the east end of the cathedral 72; total interior length 482 feet; the great or western transept 222 feet long and 66 wide; the less or eastern transept 170 feet long and 44 wide, including the chapels, which are 19 feet. Width of the nave 41 feet 4 inches, measuring to the centre of each pillar; of the side aisles each, measuring in like manner, 17 feet 10 inches; total width of the church 80 feet. Height of the vaulting of the middle tower, lantern part, 125 feet; and of the nave 80 feet.

The cloisters, east and west sides, are 91 feet; the north and south 118; interior diameter of the chapter-house, which is a decagon, from its parallel sides 60 feet 6 inches.

The above dimensions are more correct than any hitherto published; they are the result of several admeasurements by Mr. Espin of Louth, a gentleman whose superior accuracy and talents are too well known to acquire any additional lustre by this acknowledgment.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1. Great West Doorway, consisting of a very elaborate circular arch; through it are seen part of the nave, the screen of the choir, the organ, and the great east window. The statues above are eleven kings of England from William I. to Edward III. It may be proper to add, that the pillars of the nave, a few of which appear in this perspective, are materially different from each other; some have detached shafts, others are worked up solid; some have shafts enveloping a cylindrical pillar, others encompass a square one; and some have bands round them.

Plate 2. This shews in the centre the west front of Remigius' church, containing the three western entrances, and two lateral circular niches, flanked by two octagonal turrets, in which are winding staircases; one leading up to the southern or St. Hugh's tower, which contains eight bells, the other to the northern or Great Tom's tower. The bottom parts of both these western steeples are of the circular and the upper parts of the pointed order.

Plate 3. This view exhibits a perspective elevation of the east end and a small portion of the roof of the south-eastern transept.

Plate 4. This view includes the cathedral, the top of the chapter-house, and one of the old watch towers upon the close wall in the chancellor's garden. The wall in front has been purposely thrown down, to enrich the fore-ground, by bringing into view a fine shrubbery.

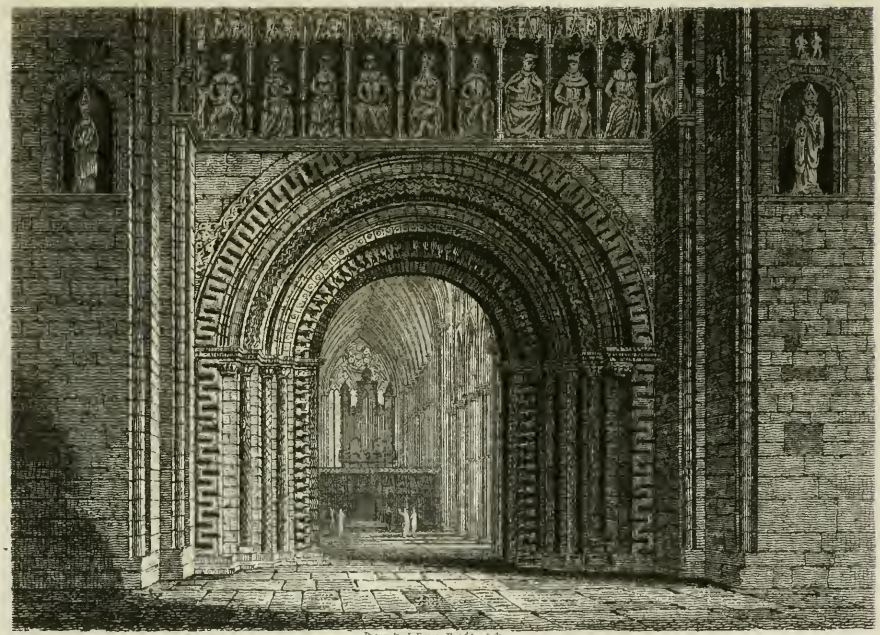
Plate 5. Cloisters.—From the north-west angle of the area, showing the whole of the eastern range of windows, the front of the chapter-house, part of the east end of the cathedral, with a corner buttress of the north-eastern transept. The west and east sides have nine windows, on the south side are fourteen; the north side most probably had a like number, but it was taken down to give place to the modern edifice used as a library.

Plate 6. Tombs of Bishops Remigius and Bloet, are situated on the north side of the interior of the choir, but the prelates were buried still farther north in the eastern transept. Remigius' tomb had originally three quatrefoils in front, but the middle one has been destroyed to make room for a slab containing an epitaph, the letters of which are filled up with white plaster. This innovation is much to be regretted, as the quatrefoil would have been sufficiently large to contain the whole inscription. The three figures on the front of Bloet's tomb, are supposed to represent three knights guarding the holy sepulchre. The following is the inscription written by bishop Fuller in 1672:—"Hujus Fundator templi—REMIGIUS urna—Hac jacet atque brevi—sit satis apta viro;—Si tamen ingenti tribues—Æquale sepulchrum—Ejus par menti,—Mens ea quanta fuit!—Sit tumulus templum quod—struxerat ipse minore—Nec possit tumulo—Nobili ore tegi."

Plate 7. The ancient Font, showing the allegorical figures of beaked quadrupeds. This font originally stood in the nave, but when the cathedral was new paved, it was removed into a chapel on the north side of the north aisle, near the west entrance.

Plate 8. Eastern side of the Chapter-house, showing the elegant windows and fly butments.

Plate 9. Entrance to the Chapter-house.—This view shews part of the interior, with the clustered pillar in the middle which supports the beautiful stone roof, the clusters of pillars, with ramous capitals on each side the entrance, are in a very mutilated state, but in the print restored. The chapter-house is a decagon, but the western side is taken up by a vestibule or passage, that connects it with the east side of the cloisters.



Drawn by T. Hearne, Engd by J. Storer

Pl. 1

West Entrance, Lincoln Cathedral

Published March 1.1787 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row

Drawn by J. Hardwick, Esq.re by J. Storer. Pl. 2.

West Front Lincoln Cathedral.

To the Right Revd. George Tomline, D.D. F.R.S.

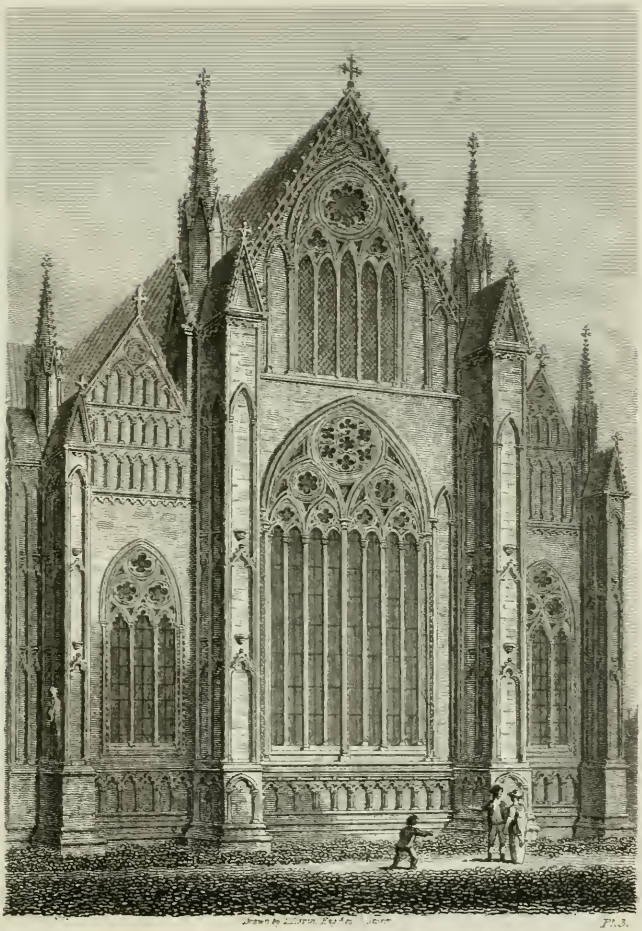
Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

This Plate is most Respectfully inscribed by

His Lordships most obliged & humble Servt.

J. Storer

Published May 1. 1819, by Thomas Kay & Thomas Harrison Kay.



Pl. 3.

East-end of Lincoln Cathedral.

Published March 1825 by Harvey & Darton, Gracechurch Street.

Drawn by J. Hardwick, Engraved by J. Storer

Pl. 4.

N.E. View of Lincoln Cathedral.

To the Revd. George Gordon, D.D. Dean of Lincoln
This Plate is most Respectfully inscribed
By his humble Servt. J. Storer

Published March 1805 by Shurey & Nicholls, Fleet Street

Drawn by J. Hyam, Engd by J. Storer. Pl.

The Cloisters, Lincoln Cathedral.

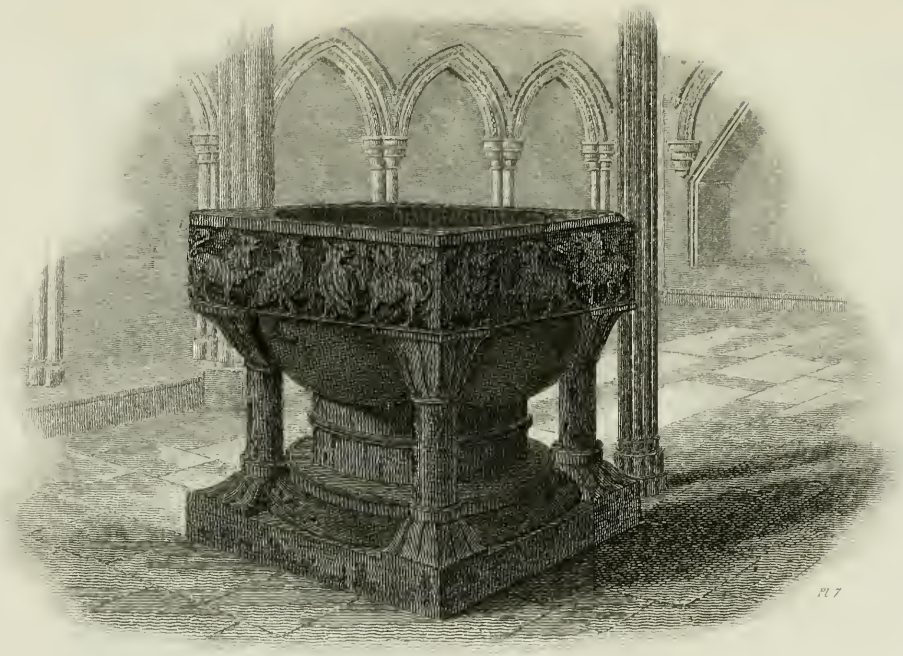
Published March 1 1813 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row.

Drawn by J. Hardwick, Engd. by J. Storer

Pl. 6.

Shrines of Bishops Remigius & Bloet, Lincoln Cathedral.

Published Feb 1.1819, by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.

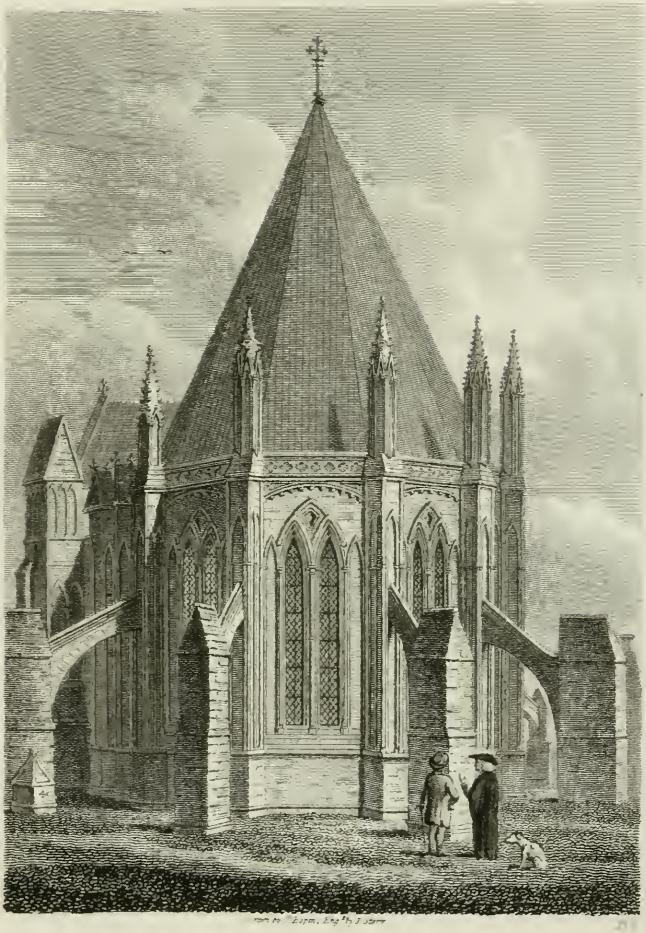


Pl 7

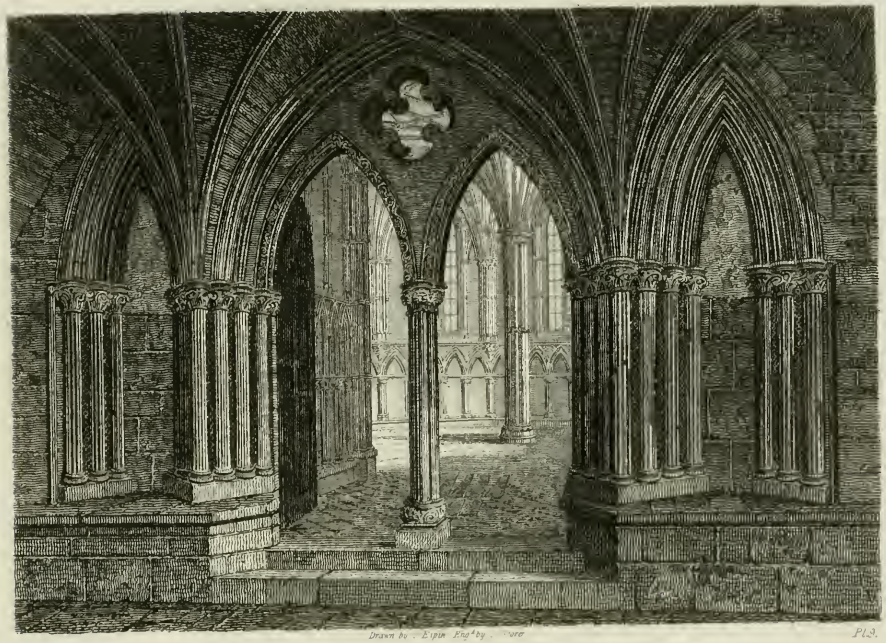
Drawn by J Hardwick Engd by J Storer

The Font, Lincoln Cathedral.

Published March 1825 by Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown Paternoster Row



The Chapter House, Lincoln Cathedral.



Drawn by Espin Engd by Storer

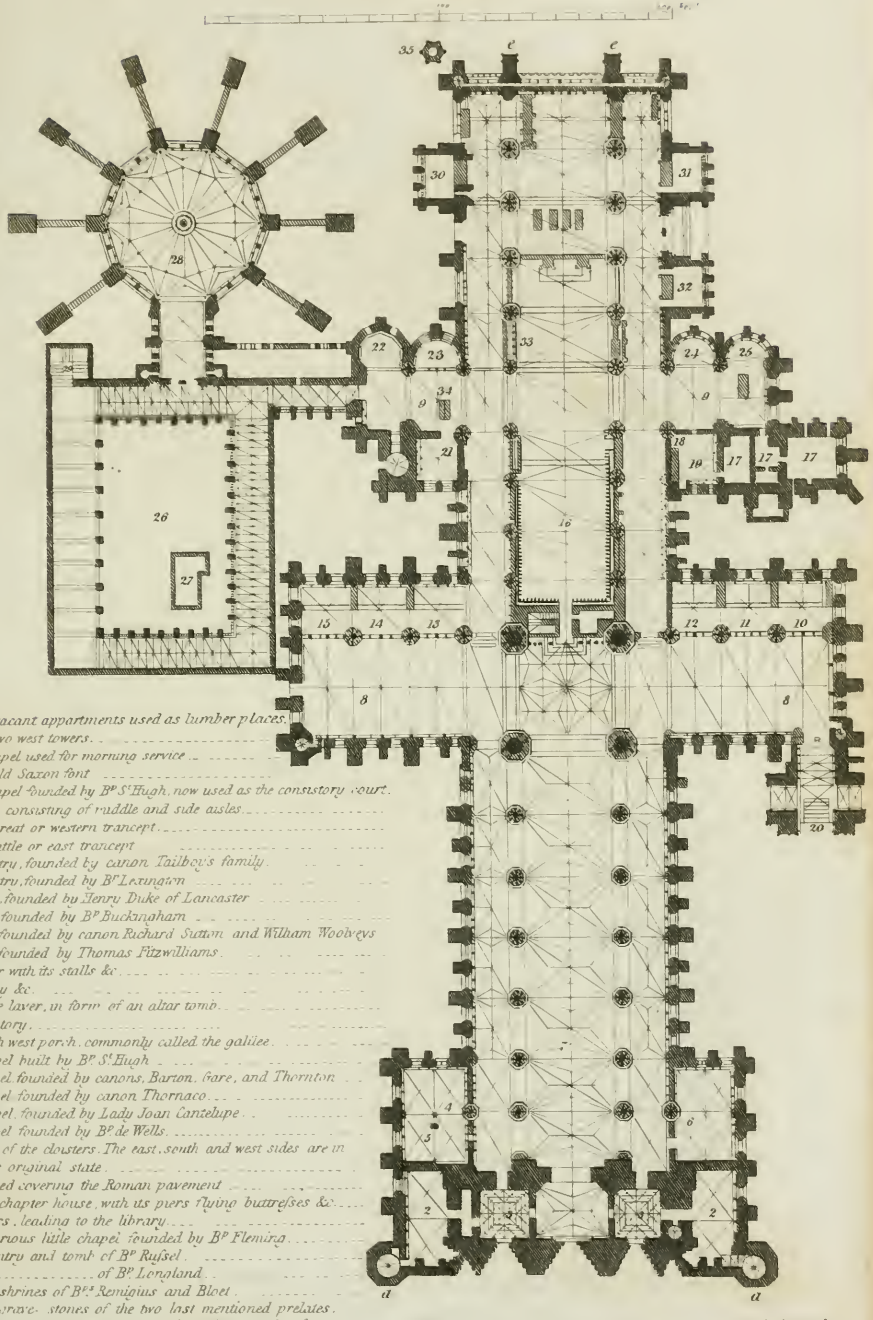
Pl.3.

Entrance to the Chapter-house, Lincoln Cathedral.

Published March 1819 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones Paternoster Row

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL,

Shewing the groining of the Roof.



2 Two vacant appartments used as lumber places.
3 The two west towers.
4 A Chapel used for morning service.
5 The old Saxon font.
6 A chapel founded by Bp S.t Hugh, now used as the consistory court.
7 Nave consisting of ruddle and side aisles.
8 The great or western trancept.
9 The little or east trancept.
10 Chantry, founded by canon Tailboys family.
11 Chantry, founded by B.p Lexington.
12 Ditto, founded by Henry Duke of Lancaster.
13 D.o founded by B.p Buckingham.
14 D.o founded by canon Richard Sutton and Wilham Woolveys.
15 D.o founded by Thomas Fitzwilliams.
16 Choir with its stalls &c.
17 Vestry &c.
18 Stone laver, in form of an altar tomb.
19 Lavatory.
20 South west porch, commonly called the galilee.
21 Chapel built by B.p S.t Hugh.
22 Chapel founded by canons, Barton, Gare, and Thornton.
23 Chapel founded by canon Thornaco.
24 Chapel founded by Lady Joan Cantelupe.
25 Chapel founded by B.p de Wells.
26 Area of the closters. The east, south and west sides are in their original state.
27 A shed covering the Roman pavement.
28 The chapter house, with its piers flying buttresses &c.
29 Stairs, leading to the library.
30 A curious little chapel founded by B.p Fleming.
31 Chantry and tomb of B.p Rufsel.
32 D.o of B.p Longland.
33 The shrines of B.ps Remigius and Bloet.
34 The grave stones of the two last mentioned prelates, which were removed, or despoil'd, when the church was paved some years back.
35 A very deep well belonging to the cathedral.

The exterior length of the cathedral is measured from the line a a to the extremity of the two buttresses e e

herwd. Nocks & Jones

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Oxford.

THE see of Oxford is orignally protestant*, and being of comparatively modern date, it has been little disgraced by idolatrous superstitions. The walls of the cathedral church, however, are of a much earlier age, and consequently have witnessed many changes. They formerly constituted part of the priory of St. Frideswide, an establishment long celebrated in the pious legends of papal worship. The fabulous origin of this priory has been faithfully recorded by William of Malmesbury and other historians, as if of unquestionable authenticity. Their tales would be unworthy of notice did they not account for the subsequent wealth and influence of this religious institution. These credulous writers gravely relate how Didan was viceroy of Oxford, how his daughter Frideswide caused him to build a priory for her, and make her prioress in 727; how Algar, an earl of Leicester, or a Welsh king, sought her for wife; how this maid betrothed to the church fled from Oxford, and took refuge in a wood, where she remained three years; how Algar threatened to burn Oxford if Frideswide was not delivered up to him, for which wickedness he was struck blind; how Frideswide restored him to sight again; how she founded a religious society at Thornbury, and made a spring-well of delightful water in the gardens; and finally how she died a virgin in 735, or according to Cressy in 740. All these stories are recorded, and actually believed, by many persons even to the present day.

The truth seems to be, that Didan, an earl of Oxford, who frequently resided there, having lost his wife Saffrida, became melancholy, and consistent with the notions of the age, determined to build a chapel to her memory. To this he was encouraged by his daughter Frideswide, who had been educated by Algiva, an abbess of Winton. The building being erected, it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, or St. Mary and All Saints, with suitable accommodations for twelve noble females. Miss Frideswide, under the influence of her governess,

* This distinction is necessary, as the papists claim an interest in those churches which were consecrated by Roman Catholic bishops, and deny all respect to those consecrated by Protestants.

was made its director. As to the tale of a Welsh king Algar*, or an earl of Leicester, seeking this lovely nun for a wife, it is so inconsistent and contradictory, that none but minds inured to superstition could listen to it. Yet it is alleged that no British king ever after dared to enter Oxford; and Matthew Paris mentions it as a proof of great courage in Henry III. that he despised, what he very properly denominates, the superstitious opinion of its being unlawful for the kings of England to enter that city. A cotemporary writer †, speaking of this legend, observes, "At what period the 'kings of Britain' were first enabled to overcome this panic we are not informed; but the great Alfred chose the city for the residence of himself and his three sons." This difficulty vanishes when we consider that the story and its consequences were fabricated after the days of Alfred; and the St. Alban's monk has told us that Henry III. was the first sovereign who dispelled the delusion.

Of the history of this priory from the death of Frideswide till the days of king Ethelred very little is known. Didan its founder, Saffrida his wife, and Frideswide their daughter, were buried within its walls. Like all other religious establishments it became a source of great wealth to Oxford, attracted the attention of devotees, and whatever might be its hostility to sovereigns, did not hesitate in accepting liberal donations and valuable bequests from the noble and wealthy throughout the kingdom. In 979, the year in which Ethelred was crowned, Oxford was destroyed by fire; but it does not appear whether Frideswide's priory suffered in the general conflagration, as the nuns continued to occupy it till the memorable massacre on St. Brice's day, Nov. 13, 1002, when it was burnt. Some writers date this burning in 1012 or 1015; but the latter took place at a subsequent massacre of the Danes, and appears to have been only a partial destruction. Ethelred, repenting ‡ the desolation of the priory, began to rebuild it in 1004; and from this period most authors agree in dating the origin of at least a part of the present edifice §. It appears unquestionable that the new building was completed prior to Ethelred's flight to France in 1013, and consequently derived none of its architectural features from that circumstance. In 1009 the Danish king Sweine made an

* Leland's account of this Algar is translated "out of the secunde booke of *Scala Chronica*. Algarus, one of the kings of Wales, a lecherus felow, lovid Fredeswide." Other writers call him an earl of Leicester, an ominous name, it appears, which has been sacred to Venus in all ages.

† Beauties of Oxfordshire. § See Carter's Ancient Architect.

‡ It is by no means improbable that the tale of Algar being inflicted with blindness for threatening to burn the city, may have been fabricated about this period, partly with the view of preventing all future conflagrations, and of raising its finances by the gifts of the credulous. The monks, it seems, were as well convinced of the pecuniary advantages of working miracles in those days, as Simon Magus was in the days of the Apostles.

abortive attempt to set fire to Oxford; and in 1012 another massacre of the Danes took place. On this occasion the lady Guinhild, Sweine's sister, and her husband Polingus, both hostages, Christians, and friends to the English, were murdered by Edric, earl Godwin's uncle. Sweine threatened the most terrible vengeance; but it does not appear that it corresponded either with his power or his policy, and the English were only plundered. Three years after, when Ethelred had returned from France, he again meditated a general carnage of the Danes, and inviting them to Oxford in 1015 *, Edric, earl of Mercia, caused two nobles, Sigeferd and Morcar, to be slain. The Danes endeavouring to defend themselves, were overpowered, and sought refuge in St. Frid's priory church, where they were burnt †. What injury the building sustained on this occasion cannot be ascertained; but it is reasonable to infer, that had it been very considerable, some notice would have been taken of its repairs. That it continued to be occupied by the nuns is well known, as in 1049 they were formally dispossessed by the monks of Abendon, who placed in it secular canons. This was one of the innumerable acts of lawless power, and violation of both moral and political justice, which in all subsequent ages marked the conduct of the Romish church. No usurpation, no injustice or robbery could be more flagrant, than that of the monks of one convent assuming a right to seize the property and disinherit the proprietors of a neighbouring one ‡. Yet the pope § not only allowed such things, but actually gave his authority (which however in a moral sense was equally invalid and usurped) for their perpetration. This usurpation and forced possession, indeed, were not of long duration; but the unfortunate nuns were not restored, and the original foundation of Didan and Miss Frideswide, with the subsequent grants of king Ethelred ¶ to this priory, were totally perverted. In 1060 the

* Peshall corrects Rapin, who confounds this massacre with that of 1012.

† Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. Peshall, &c, It is stated that the books and sacerdotal vestments were burnt by the Oxonians to gratify their revenge and hatred to the insatiate Danes.

‡ It is alleged that we derived all our chivalrous notions of gallantry to the fair sex from the warlike Normans; and this act of the Saxon friars, unless, what is neither impossible nor improbable, they made the Frideswide nuns their wives, would tend to confirm it.

§ About this period there were no less than three infallible popes in Rome, all possessing or claiming the keys of heaven at the same time: Sylvester lived at St. Peter's, Benedict at St. Mary's, and Gregory at the Lateran; all of them actuated by the most deadly hate to each other, and "only in destroying found ease to their relentless thoughts." A Spanish poet, more witty than orthodox, described this papal trio as Cerberus barking at the moon.

¶ As a specimen of the style and manner of these royal grants we subjoin the following:— "*This privilege was idith in* Hedington . . . . . *myn owne mynster in Oxenford. There seint* Frideswide . . . . . *alle that fredome that any fre mynster frelnbest . . . . mid sake and mid socna, mid tol and mid teme, and with . . . of* Hedingdon, *and of alle the lande that thereto be and in felde and alle other thinge and rych that y . . . belyveth and byd us for quike and dede, and alle other . . . alle other bennyfeyt and alle other thinge that ther . . . .*"

"Scripta fuit hæc cedula jussu præfati regis in villa regia quæ . . . . appellatur, die octavarum beati Andreæ apostoli hiis consencientibus p . . . . qui subtus notati videntur. Ego *Ethelredus* Rex *Anglorum* hoc privilegium Christi nomine perpetua libertate prædicto donavi.

secular canons were expelled in consequence of their having wives, and a set of regular ones succeeded them by order of king Edward, at the instance of pope Nicholas II. who "was the first pontiff who adjudged the priest's wives to be whores, and their marriages fornicatory." How long the wifeless canons retained possession of the priory is not precisely mentioned; but as all regulations made in direct violation of the first laws of nature are invariably broken, we find that the married friars, emboldened by the consideration of their families, as good fathers and good husbands, again got possession of the priory. After the Norman invasion they were a second time ejected, and Henry I. gave it to Roger, bishop of Salisbury. This prelate again transferred it to Guymond or Wymond, the king's chaplain, a priest whose fanaticism had rendered him intrepid, and who had ventured to reprove his majesty for promoting secular and married priests. In 1111 Guymond became prior of Frideswide, and made it the seat of regular Augustin canons *.

It is from the instalment of Guymond that Dugdale, Willis, Tanner, and most other writers, who have adopted the vain pretensions of the Normans as historical truths, date the origin of the present cathedral of Christ Church. The foundation of the abbey of Oseney, by Robert d'Oili †, nephew of the adventurer who accompanied William I. is mentioned as favouring this conclusion. Of this abbey Willis has given a most pompous description, such as its having twenty-four altars, besides numerous chapels, &c. It gave title about four years to the first bishop of the Oxford see, but was finally doomed to cede all its wealth and ornaments to Frideswide's priory, now the cathedral; and scarcely a vestige of it remains. Its bells, indeed, which were removed to Christ Church, still amuse the citizens. But the rise and

Ego *Alfrich Dorou* . . . ecclesiæ archipresul corroboravi, sub anathemate. Ego *Wulstan Eboracensis* civitatis archipontifex confirmavi. Ego *Ethelric Scireburnensis* episcopus consensi Ego *Elfgiva* thoro consecrata regio hanc donationem sublimavi. Ego *Adelstan* regalium primogenitus filiorum cum fratribus meis testis he . . . interfui. Ego *Alfean*, Wentanus antistes, consignavi. Ego *Alstan Fontanensis* ecclesiæ episcopus, consolidavi. Ego *Alfun Lundoniensis* ecclesiæ episcopus consecravi. Ego *Godwine Lychefeldensis* ecclesiæ episcopus communivi. Ego *Ordbyrt* australium Saxonum episcopus conclusi. Ego *Elfeod Cridiensis* ecclesiæ episcopus vegetabi. Ego *Alfric* dux, &c." *Monasticon.*—The names of several other dukes, abbots, counts, &c. but that of no pope or foreign potentate are affixed to this instrument, which was taken from the MSS. in the possession of Dr. Langbane.

* The Augustins had no abbots till the fifteenth century. Fosbrooke's Brit. Monachism.

† We may be able to estimate the moral character of founders of religious establishments, when it is stated that R. d'Oili was instigated to build and endow Oseney abbey by his *chaste* wife Editha, the daughter of Fornus, and a *mistress* to Henry I. Roman Catholic writers speak with great delicacy of the prostitutes kept by Catholic princes, and not unfrequently deify them for their piety, while those of Protestant princes are treated with the most relentless severity. But morality and chastity are of no sex nor rank, and the mistress to the prince is just so much more despicable than the mistress to the peasant, as the one may have so much greater means of acquiring a knowledge of religious and moral duties than the other. It is worthy of remark, that very few even of the good works of such characters ever have any permanency; and, as in the case of Oseney abbey, they generally "vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision, and leave not a wreck behind."

fall of Oseney have no relation to the original building of Frideswide's priory; and had it been either re-edified or greatly altered by this royal chaplain, the fact would certainly have been recorded among the "great and good deeds" of Guymond, who has had as many panegyrists as biographers. Those, however, who can determine in what particular year, month, and day of the moon each peculiar mode of architecture began and terminated, may denominate this edifice Norman; but those who well understand what the historians of that period have written, and can compare their accounts with the general state and condition of men and things, at the same time recollecting the interested zeal of the invaders to extirpate or deface every memorandum of Saxon or English ingenuity, will not hesitate to pronounce it of an earlier * origin.

The honour of building this edifice has been divided between Guymond, and his two immediate successors; but it is all mere conjecture, unsupported by any valid authority. Even the real date of Guymond's death is uncertain †, Dugdale stating it to have taken place in 1130. Willis corrects him, and makes it in 1144; and lastly, Chalmers says 1149. Camden praises his learning and religious zeal; but had he been an architect also, it is very unlikely that so much uncertainty respecting the period of his death should have remained. The second prior was Robert de Cricklade or Canutus, who was chancellor of Oxford about 1159. The third was Phillip, who died about 1190; during his priorship, in 1180, the relics of Frideswide were translated ‡ with great ceremony and pomp. Prior Phillip also wrote a book, giving an account of her miracles; and it is probably to this author § we owe the legendary traditions of her great chastity; her depriving her lover of his sight only to have the pleasure of as promptly ¶

* "On the outside of the small towers, observes the learned author of Muni. Antiq. at the end of the north transept, and also at the west end, are found those unequal ornamental arches and pillars, or rather round pilasters, which appear on so many Saxon structures. The great door by which the church is entered, as well as that of the chapter-house, is truly Saxon. All the capitals of the pillars of the nave are varied one from another, and yet are elegant. There can be very little doubt but that the massy pillars of the nave in that part which was extended to the west (according to Willis about fifty feet), and which was pulled down to make room for the building of the college, were equally varied and well designed. The proportions also of the shafts of most of the pillars in this venerable structure are superior. On the east side of the north transept the space between the pillars has been filled up with curious skreens of Norman work of a much later date; but the little beautiful Saxon arches filling up the inner space within the span of each arch, found so uniformly in this edifice, supplying as it were the place of a transom stone, remain as they were. Above them is work of the age of Henry VI."—Vol. iv.

† There is the same uncertainty about the period of Frideswide's death, one stating it as occurring in 735, and another in 740. If no correct information exists on this head, what confidence can be reposed in the legends detailing the miracles of this vestal goddess?

‡ Whatever we may think of his science, we must at least allow him to have been an adept in the art of finance; and the revenues of his priory benefited more by the relics and miracles of the first prioress than by all the lands and grants it received from Didan and Ethelred.

§ Vide Bromton, inter Decem Scriptores.

¶ Frid. eadem celeritate qua perdiderat lumen accepit. Will. Malmesbur.

restoring it; creating, like Winifred, wells of fine water, &c. From this period till the reformation there were twenty-five more priors, very few of whom were distinguished for any thing but their excessive licentiousness, luxury, and dilapidation of the priory's revenues. Nicholas de Hungerford, prior in 1362, was particularly notorious for his lawless expenditure of the property entrusted to his superintendence. The last appointed prior was John Burton, who entered this office in 1513; in 1518 took the degree of doctor in divinity: after being prior eleven years he resigned his charge to Wolsey for a salary of twenty marks a year, and in 1531 became abbot of Oseney.

At the dissolution, which was authorized by the pope and executed by a Roman Catholic cardinal, no inventory of the furniture and religious implements of Frideswide's priory was made, as Wolsey took all into his own charge and direction, intending them for the use of the new college with its chapel, which was to take his name. But in "the General Ecclesiastical Survey, 26th Henry VIII. of the manors, lands, tenements, rectories, and other spiritual and temporal possessions assigned to Henry VIII.'s college in Oxford," we find the revenues belonging to the late priory of St. Frideswide thus estimated: "In the city of Oxford a net income of £39 : 2 : 9 per annum, after deducting, £8 : 7 : 3 paid annually to the steward, the abbot and convent of Abyngdon, the masters and fellows of New College, Maria Magdalene college, 'Brasnose,' &c. In the manor of Cuddeslow £14 : 2 : 8; the manor and rectory of Byndsey £18; part of Ascott 53*s.* 4*d.*; rectory of Church Hill £10 : 13 : 4; rectory of Fritwell £4 : 13 : 4; rectory of Elfelde 53*s.* 4*d.* after deducting 66*s.* 8*d.* for the vicar; rectories of Hedington and Merston £17 : 13 : 4; Pedyngton £21 : 7 : 7; Cowley, Coldnorton, and Cuddesdon 42*s.*; manor of Bolshipton £7; rectory of Warnall, Bucks £6, deducting £4 for the vicar; manor of Overwynchyndon, Bucks £27; rectory of Okeley and Borstall, Bucks £9 : 13 : 4; Bryll, Bucks £11 : 7 : 3; manor of Huddon and Edington, Berks £20, after paying the dean and fellows of Wynsor college 40*s.*; manor of Knygtington, Berks £6; Isbury, Edwiston; and Multon 36*s.* 6*d.*; other parts, as the church of St. Egidus, the abbess of Godstow, &c. 7*s.* Total annual value of the revenues and possessions of the priory of St. Frideswide £222 : 5 : 9*." Such is the official and authentic valuation; it may be proper to add, that Speed gave it at £224 : 4 : 8; and the Rev. sir J. Peshall†, from a MS. estimate, at £284 : 8 : 9, of which £69 : 17 : 11 were in spiritualities, and the remainder in temporalities.

* Communicated to us by J. Caley, esq. F. A. S. keeper of the records in the Augmentation Office, a gentlemen whose talents and zeal in diffusing a correct knowledge of the history and antiquities of his country are well known. † Hist. of Oxford, p. 121.

As there was no regular survey made of the priory buildings before its conversion into a college, its dimensions are not known. In the "Itinerarium Willelmi de Worcestre," the admeasurement of the church about 1443 is thus stated: "Ecclesia Sanctæ Frideswythe longitudo ejus continet 100 gressus. Latitudo ejus continet 30 gressus." If it were originally 100 paces long, the statement given by canon Hutten and adopted by Willis, that Wolsey took three arches from its length at the west end, about fifty feet, and run "a wall across between two pillars," cannot be correct, unless we suppose Worcester's paces to be only two instead of three feet, which is extremely improbable. Kennet and Peshall, indeed, seem perplexed respecting the real site of Frideswide's priory; the latter explicitly says that it "stood in the place where the chaplains' quadrangle of Christ church now stands." This confusion has arisen from an indiscriminate use of the word priory applied to the whole buildings, including the church, as well as that part appropriated to cells for the friars; but there cannot be the least doubt, that a part of the priory church of St. Frideswide now forms the present cathedral. That its nave was originally much longer there is every reason to believe. A greater length * was indispensable to the performances of those numerous and pompous processions which friars so frequently made round the church, and also to an unrestrained communication with females †, two things seldom neglected in the construction of monastic edifices. The design of Wolsey, however, was to have a most splendid college, where learning and taste should be equally cultivated. Not only the west end of Frideswide's church and the west cloister, but also London college ‡ were sacrificed to this great undertaking.

On the 20th of March (Wood erroneously says July 15), 1525, the foundation of cardinal college was laid with great pomp, in presence of all the members of the university, and a vast assembly of

* If this priory was never above fifty feet longer than the present cathedral, it would be a very strong presumptive proof that it must have been built for women, and that neither prior Guymond nor any of his successors had added any thing to the work executed in the days of Ethelred and Edward the Confessor. Of this, however, there is no sufficient historical evidence to oppose to the statement given by William of Worcester.

† This may appear incredible to English protestants, but it must be remembered that the design of such institutions was partly to convert women, and that the friars stationed round the church harangued the females assembled there. Since the reformation this practice has been abandoned; and in the churches of Granada and Xerez de la Frontera the women and friars are prohibited from conversing, by a mandate to that effect written on boards, and affixed to the pillars in the aisles. "Aqui no se hablan las mugeres con los frayles."

‡ This college, a place for the study of civil law, was removed. It is described as adjoining Civil School Lane on the north side, Frideswide's Lane on the south, and the site of the Cardinal's college on the east and west. It was once a synagogue of the Jews, and on their expulsion in 1290, was converted into a hall for students, by Mr. Burnell, provost and dean of Wells. It afterwards became the property of Balliol college, and was called Burnell's Inn, or Balliol hall. During the reign of Henry IV. it was denominated London college, from Richard Clifford, bishop of London, who was educated there, and was a great benefactor to the house.

people. The cardinal made an address on the occasion, and afterwards performed the ceremony of laying the first stone, on which were engraven his various titles, with the date. The company then adjourned to Frideswide's church, where a Latin sermon was preached by Dr. John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, on the text Prov. ix. "Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum." The ceremonies of the day terminated in a sumptuous entertainment, and the builders proceeded with their work. Wolsey appointed Robert Wilson and Rowland Messinger, masters of arts, to be comptrollers of the building; Mr. Nicholas Townley to be master of the works; John Smith, auditor; Davy Griffith, overseer; and Thomas Cooper and Philip Lenthall, clerks. "Of these men," observes Chalmers*, "little is now known; but their names are worth retaining, as we seldom have an opportunity of noticing the architects employed in our ancient structures."

It appears that Wolsey was conscious of the inadequacy of the priory church, and that he only designed it as a temporary appendage to his college, having laid the foundation of another and much more magnificent structure, better suited to the grandeur of his views, and the impressive splendour which he conceived necessary to awe profligate men into a sense of decorum. He knew and deplored the nescience and depravity† which then disgraced all the religious and cenobitic institutions in the country. Had his reign been protracted, it is probable that he would have achieved some important reform. It is true, he has been accused of a contrary design, of a wish to concentrate all the small convents into a few large ones, in order more effectually to arrest the progress of knowledge, to give ignorance an imposing consequence, and to raise a few distinguished characters, whose learning and talents should enable them to repel the efforts of the reformers, and not become dangerous to the church. In answer to this allegation, which may not be altogether unfounded, it is enough to observe that he was

* History of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings in Oxford.

† One or two instances selected as the least shocking to modern delicacy, may give the reader some idea of what the more infamous religious establishments must have been in that age, and also of the manner in which they were described. The abbot of Welbeck is represented as a man that "vixit et vivit in fornicariæ amplexibus tenendo diversas mulieres,"—who has lived and still lives in the arms of prostitution by keeping divers women. The visitors of Fountain's abbey state thus: "Pleas if your mastershippe to understand that the abbot of Fontans hith so gretely dilapidated his house, wasted the woddys, notoriously keeping of hoores, defamed a toto populo," &c. In the priory of Maiden Bradley, says Rich. Layton, "whereat is an holy father prior, and hath but vi children, and but one dowghter mariede, yet of the goods of the monasterie trysting shortly to marry the rest. His sones be tall men waytting upon hym, and he, thank God, a none meddler with marritt women, but all with madens the fariest cowlde be gottyn. The pope consyderying his frailtie, gave hym licens to kepe an hore, and hathe goode writing *sub plumbo* to discharge his conscience." See Burnett, Fosbrooke's Monachism, &c. The manner of "catching the abbot of Langden abbey with his whore," cannot be cited here. Let the popish revilers of Henry VIII. read this, and remember, that they who are without sin should throw the first stone.

a man of real learning *, and consequently possessed a tolerant spirit. He was, indeed, arraigned as being inclined to favour the reformers, and perhaps not wholly without cause, as history furnishes no instance of a great and cultivated mind ever remaining orthodox in the papal faith. Indeed all our knowledge of the intellectual faculties tends to prove the absolute impossibility of such a combination. But whatever were Wolsey's motives, it is certain that the profligacy of the friars and nuns, particularly in the smaller foundations, had become so notorious, and were so justly ridiculed by the reformers, that it was no longer possible to defend or tolerate them. Wolsey, conscious of the existence of these evils, prescribed the study of Lilly's Latin Grammar, and prepared suitable establishments for the diffusion of knowledge. We should not, indeed, be surprised at the extreme ignorance of the friars and nuns, as very few of them could read. Many *learned* and *pious* bishops, who attended grave councils, and made infallible laws, were then in the same condition! Had even the friars and nuns been disposed to read, they had no opportunity; there were no bibles in their houses, no books of instruction except those containing their daily devotions †, which were but little calculated to improve their minds, whatever influence they might have on their hearts.

* Mr. Chalmers has given such a correct and impartial view of Wolsey's character, that it merits notice here. "In the private conduct of this extraordinary man, while in the height of his prosperity, we find a singular mixture of personal pride and public munificence. While his train of servants rivalled that of the king, and was composed of many persons of rank and distinction, his house was a school where their sons were usefully educated, and initiated in public life. And while he was dazzling the eyes or insulting the feelings of the people by an ostentation of gorgeous furniture and equipage, such as exceeded the royal establisment itself, he was a general and liberal patron of literature, a man of consummate taste in works of art, elegant in his plans, and boundless in his expenses to execute them; and, in the midst of luxurious pleasures and pompous revellings, he was meditating the advancement of science by a munificent use of those riches which he seemed to accumulate only for selfish purposes."—Hume observes, that no lord chancellor "ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law or equity."—Perhaps some of his greatest defects might be traced to the consequence of his being made a bachelor of arts at fifteen. Shakespear has said, "from his cradle he was a scholar, a ripe and good one."

† The following is a list of the books usually contained in the larger religious houses before the reformation; of their literary merit it is unnecessary here to speak. 1. A *Legend*, in which were lessons to be read at matins, and selected from the Apocrypha, Lives of the Saints, &c. 2. The *Festiral*, containing suitable sermons for all the festivals. 3. *Antiphoner*, containing anthems, versicles, collects, hymns, responses, &c. 4. A *Gradale*, or Grail, containing the *gradales*, or what were gradually sung after the epistle, office of sprinkling holy water, &c. 5. A *Psalter* or Sawter, a psalm book. 6. A *Tropery* or book of sequences, called in English a *toper*, and was used to swear on. 7. An *Ordinal*, in which was ordered the manner of saying and solemnizing the offices; from its confusion it was called by the English the *Pye*. 8. A *Missall*, or mass-book, containing the order of celebrating the mass. 9. A *Manual*, or directions for administering the sacraments. 10. A *Breviary*, a large book divided into parts, corresponding to the four seasons of the year. It was called in English a *portuas* and *portal*. 11. The *Prymer* of Salisbury, containing prayers to the Virgin and St. Bridget. 12. *Chartularium* or Chartulary, containing charters of religious foundations. It was called in English *leiger* book, from the French *leguer* to bequeath. And 13. *Martyrology*, calendar, &c. with the names of those receiving letters of fraternity. Besides the above, they had *Lady Psalters* and *Rosaries*, which consisted of 150 Ave Marias and 15 Paternosters, and said to make together 15 parts of an ordinary crown, corresponding to the number of David's Psalms. There was also an *Obsequial* or *Benedictional*, with forms of obedience to the pope. A *Confessional*, containing rules for confession, obituary of priests, &c.—See *Suncroft*, *Staveley*, *Romish Horseleech*, &c.

From the "Journal Book of the Expenses of all the Buildings of Christ Church, Oxon." we select the following particulars, as containing some historical data respecting the actual building, and also of the manners of that age. "It appeareth that the walks about Christ Church medowe were made of the earth that was digged from the foundation of the college."—"Costs and expenses done there from the 14th day of November, in the 22d year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry 8, to the 29th of the same month. Quarries at Cotteswold, Barrenton, Edinton, Burford, Old Stowe, Sherburne, Brokynton, Taynton, and Lambert's and Friday's quarries. Paid to W. Frere, of Oxford, for new making and repairing the highway from Boll Shipton to Hedington-hills, for the more ready conveyance of stone, timber, &c. to the said works, £34 : 8 : 5. Item, to William Hobbs and Richard Cooper for bringing in of the bell-frame in their drinking time 2*d*. To haymakers for the cart-horses in Frideswide's mead 20*s*. To Jo. Norton for 26 C. paving tiles of yellow and green for the new hall, at 3*s*. 8*d*. the C. To Jas. Nicholston of London, glazier, for 47 of my lord grace's (Wolsey's) arms, set up in the windows of the new hall of the said college at 6*s*. 8*d*. the piece, £15 : 13 : 8. And for 246 bends or poses, called *dominus mihi adjutor*, set up in the same windows at 12*d*. the piece every one, £12 : 0 : 6. To nine freemasons (who are mentioned by name), in reward for their labour on Saturday, after their hour accustomed to leave work, 12*d*. Paid to Mr. David Griffits, priest, for his stipend for wages, as well for keeping the monastery of Frideswide and saying of divine service, after the suppression of the same unto the first stalling of the deans and canons in the said college, as for his labours in overseeing of workmen dayly labouring there; in all by the space of 13 months, as by a letter made at my lord grace's commandment, directed to the dean of the said college, doth appear £7." The whole expenditure during the *quinden* above stated, amounts to £166 : 9 : 1. In this journal the time is divided into what are called "xvnes," i. e. *quindens*, or fifteen days. The book * is imperfect, as it contains the items of expenditure during one year only, which amount to £7835 : 7 : 2—the college was five years in building.

In addition to these items of expenditure, we have to add an abstract of the plate which Wolsey had repaired or made, and presented to this college, according to the account rendered by his goldsmith. The statement is curious, not less from its contents than its style and orthography, as exhibiting the progress of the English language.

"Parcellis of plate being amendid, new dressid, and burnyshed,

* Sancroft's Collect. Curiosa.

deliveryd to my lordes grace by thandes of maister Robt. Tonnes, as dothe apere by oone peyre of indentures, thone signyd with thand of the said Mr. Tonnyes, beyring date the xth daye of Auguste, anno R. Henrici Octavi xvij for Sant Friswurthes college in Oxforde. Item oone crucifixe with Mary and John, silvar and gilte inamylid with a highe foote to stand upon a aultar poiss. cvij oz. d. Item oone crosse silvar and gilt withoute images of Mary and John withe a beyring staffe belonging to it of vij peces in all poiss. cviij. oz. d. Item oone great Nutte with a cover gilte and upon the cover a image of Sante Fryswurthe gravyn poiss. lxix oz. Item iij great masars and iij small poiss. lxj oz. Item oone large challes with a rounde foote garnyshid with countarfet stones with a pattin to the same gilte, in the patten a image of *Jhesus* gravyn poiss. xxxij oz. qrt." The amount of those bills for plate during ten years of the cardinal's reign, from the 9th till the 19th of Henry VIII. is about £5000. This sum is merely what he appropriated to the use of the college in Oxford, for utensils and images in silver; his gifts of plate to the abbey of St. Alban's and his college of "Cypswiche," Ipswich, was no less magnificent*. These things remained till 1551, when the dean and chapter, in order to promote the reformation, agreed that all altars, statues, images, tabernacles, missals, "and other remains of superstition and idolatry" should be removed.

The original institution of cardinal college consisted in a dean, Dr. John Hygden, president of Magdalen, and eighteen canons, all men of learning and parts, whom Wolsey selected from the colleges in Oxford, or wherever he could find them. The college, with the scholars from his school in Ipswich, was to contain 160 persons. These dispositions remained till 1529-30, the period of the cardinal's disgrace, when there was a suspension of all improvement. In 1532 the king consented to refound it, give it his name, and endow it with £2000 a

* The cardinal was enabled to make such an appropriation of property in consequence of pope Clement VII. authorizing him to seize all the possessions of no less than twenty-two religious establishments, estimated at an annual income of 2000*l*. The inmates of these houses were not all merely annuitants; many of them held a hereditary right in them by virtue of family endowments. The pope by his bulls extinguished all those rights with as little ceremony as if they had not been imprescriptible; the execration, therefore, which has been bestowed on Wolsey and Henry VIII. for their repeated violation of the sacred rights of property, should be transferred to Clement VII. His conduct, however, was not worse than that of all his predecessors, since their assumption of a right to dispose of ecclesiastical honours and emoluments in all countries and nations professing Christianity. Correct notions of moral justice never can prevail in any country where the entire power, both civil and ecclesiastical, does not centre either in itself or the government of which it forms a part. The distinction between what is called spiritual and temporal authority, while the former can give or withhold thousands a year and the obedience of multitudes, is a contemptible and most injurious sophism, which clouds reason, engenders deception, perverts the first principles of human judgment, and disguises the truth. It is a most fertile source of depravity, ignorance, and despotism.

year for the maintenance of a dean and twelve canons, to form a chapter. Dr. Hygden was again made dean, on the 8th of July, and, dying five months after, was succeeded by Dr. John Oliver. The canons were Roper, Cottesford, Crook, Current, and Tresham, doctors of divinity; and Hastings, Canner, Leighton, Williams, Robins, and Wakefield, bachelors of divinity, all men of learning and eminence in their day. This constitution existed only to May 1545, when the dean and chapter surrendered their charter to the king, who gave them pensions until they should be otherwise provided for. Among the dismissed canons were two names of great celebrity, Cheke, afterwards sir John Cheke, of Cambridge, tutor to prince Edward, and Leland, the justly celebrated antiquary. After the general dissolution in 1542, the abbey of Oseney, being a most superb edifice, was erected into a cathedral or bishop's see, the diocess extending over the county of Oxford, while the town was constituted a city, and placed in subordination to the bishop. The first bishop of this new see was Dr. Robert King, the last abbot of Oseney; the first dean Dr. London, and six prebendaries, Balsire, Day, Haynes, Diar or Dyer, Besely, and Lynch, who occupied the lodgings of the abbot and friars. The king's finances, however, not equalling his expenditure, he turned his attention to those religious houses best capable of affording him relief. Oseney had been one of the richest and most magnificent abbeys in Europe; it was accordingly stripped of its new honours, and the see removed in 1545 to the remains of the priory church of St. Frideswide, then a chapel to Henry's college. The name of the college also experienced another change; it was now "The Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford, of King Henry VIII.'s Foundation," and the society was declared to consist of a bishop*, with his archdeacon, a dean, and eight canons. The estates were consigned to the dean and canons on condition of their maintaining three public professors of Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, 100 students in theology, arts, or philosophy, eight chaplains, and a numerous choir. Dr. King was continued bishop, and Dr. Coxe was the first dean of Christ Church. No very important alteration has since taken place in this college, which has risen to the highest eminence by the number, learning, piety, and influence of its members. It has, indeed, produced bishops in all its prebendal stalls; and Willis estimated that at least one third of the bishops of Great Britain and Ireland during the year 1730, had been members of this house.

Neither the ancient nor modern monuments in this cathedral are

* The bishops of Oxford had no palace till bishop Bancroft built one at Cuddesdon, which was destroyed during the rebellion. It was afterwards rebuilt there by bishop Fell, and continues to be the episcopal residence.

numerous*; a fact which does great honour to the integrity and good sense of its members. Those who have left nothing behind them more durable than marble are unworthy of this distinction, and those who have benefited their species require no such frail memorials, which are too often the posthumous heralds of falsehood polluting a sacred edifice, and disfiguring the simple grandeur of its walls. In the deans' chapel, which is north of the choir, and south of the Latin chapel, is a monument supposed to be designed for earl Didan, lady Saffrida, and their daughter Frideswide †, situated under the most eastern arch. Adjoining it is one to a lady Montacute, who in 1353 gave the meadow now attached to the college, founded a chantry for two secular priests to pray her husband's soul, her own, and that of more than seventeen of her relations, out of purgatory ‡. Another (see pl. S.) is said to be intended for prior Guymond, who died 1149, or prior Phillip, who died about 1190; but which of them, remains equally doubtful and unimportant. Next the west end of this chapel, near the north aisle, is a monument, bearing a figure in armour, which has been supposed to be sir Henry Bathe, justiciary of England about 1252; but the warlike dress is so little consonant with that of a lawyer, no confidence can be placed in this tradition.

In 1630 the old stalls were removed, the present ones erected, and the choir paved with black and white marble. Many monuments suffered on this occasion by careless transposition. Perhaps the least exceptionable act was the removal of the decayed and old painted windows, containing the fabulous and not too delicate history of Miss Frideswide and her miracles. New windows were subtituted in their place, with paintings executed by Abraham Van Linge, supposed to be the son of Bernard Van Linge, a Fleming, and reputed revivor of the art of glass-painting in this country. The latter is also alleged by Dallaway to be the painter of the portrait of bishop King, which has been

* The earliest register of burials in this church begins A. D. 1697, after the act for burying in woollen, so that it is not possible to account for the sepulture of many other eminent persons here interred without any memorial.—Willis's Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 415.

† A circumstance respecting the shrine of Frideswide may be worthy of mentioning here, as pourtraying human folly and depravity under the influence of superstition. The worship of Frideswide was imperfectly performed till the thirteenth century, when a rich shrine was raised to her, which king Henry VIII. found useful for other purposes. Some juggling, as usual, was practised with the supposed bones of this female, which were kept in two silken bags, in order to delude the credulous. P. Martyr, the reformer, having visited this country under the protection of Cranmer, becamc a canon of Christ Church, but departed on the accession of "bloody queen Mary." His wife Catherine, dying at Oxford in 1551, was buried near the monument of Frideswide. The counsellors of Mary, in the satanic spirit of papal vengeance, had this deceased female heretic tried, condemned, and her remains raised, and buried in a dunghill. In 1561 they were again taken up, and deposited with much ceremony in their original place, and the pretended bones of Frideswide mixed with them so as to prevent their discrimination, should the age of idolatry return. A retired oratory was erected behind the shrine, the stone steps of which were much worn by devotees.

‡ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 727, and Banks's Extinct Baronage, vol. iii. p. 653.

engraved. Some of these finely executed windows were destroyed during the Cromwell usurpation, when Henry Wilkinson was visitor, who personally assisted in their destruction. Others, fortunately, were taken down and carefully preserved, particularly those executed by Linge, one containing the story of Jonah, dated 1631, in the south aisle; another the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, 1634; and a third in the east window of the divinity chapel *, 1640, representing Christ disputing with the Doctors. The fine east window, containing the Nativity, was designed by sir James Thornhill, and painted by William Price in 1696, at the expense of £200, which was defrayed by Dr. P. Birch, prebendary of Westminster, and formerly chaplain here. A small window in the north aisle, observes Dallaway, is a "singular curiosity;" it is a representation of St. Peter and an angel, dated 1700, and painted by Isaac Oliver, nephew of the two famous Olivers, when he was eighty-four years old. It was also his benefaction to the college. Several other windows contain arms, crests, &c. and many pieces of the old painted glass have been recovered, and disposed with taste in complete windows or compartments. Some of these were collected and given by alderman Fletcher. The window with the fine portrait of bishop King was erected, says Chalmers, soon after his death † in 1558, and taken down in 1651, to save it from republican fury. At the restoration it was reinstated, with other windows, in the same aisle ‡.

In the belfry are ten bells; the largest, called Great Tom, was removed to the west tower of the college. The steeple, says Willis, has a fine litany-bell, which is rung every evening at nine o'clock, perparatory to knolling Great Tom §, which is the legal notice for all

* During the reign of Cromwell the Latin prayers were discontinued in this chapel; but some members of the society, Drs. J. Fell, J. Dolben, Allestree, and others, afterwards men of eminence in the church, performed the common prayer in the lodgings, and subsequently in the house, of the celebrated Dr. Willis. This practice was continued till the Restoration. But, such is the mutability of things, Dr. Willis's house ultimately became an Independent Meeting! Sir John Lely made it the subject of a painting, in which the above reverend doctors are represented in their canonical habits as performing and joining in the liturgy of the church. A copy of this painting has been presented to the college by sir Wm. Dolben, and is placed among the fine collection of portraits in Christ Church Hall.

† If this be correct, it is impossible that it could be executed by B. Van Linge, who did not come to this country till the reign of James I. above fifty years after the death of the bishop.

‡ "In the lighter style of Gothic, the apertures for windows were so numerous and so large, as to admit too great a portion of light. To abate the glare without entirely excluding the light, the expedient of glazing the windows with painted glass was adopted, which at the same time that it prevented the evil, was in itself also a decoration." Hawkins's Hist. of Goth. Architect.

§ It is the largest bell in Britain, and was cast in 1680 by bishop, then dean, Fell. T. Spark has written some Latin verses in the Musæ Anglicanæ, and bishop Corbet some English ones on this bell, which weighs 17,000lbs. is above seven feet in diameter, and five feet nine inches high; its tongue 342lbs. In the tower of the Palazza Vecchio at Florence, there is a bell the same weight as Great Tom of Oxford, and hung 275 feet from the ground. The great bell in St. Peter's, Rome, recast in 1785, is 18,667lbs. According to Coxe and Porter the great bell in St. Ivan's church, in Moscow, is 288,000lbs., and that which is broken weighed 432,000lbs.

students to repair to their respective colleges that their gates may be shut. In the centre of the quadrangle of the college is a fountain, with a statue of Mercury, the gift of Dr. J. Radcliff. " On this spot," say the historians, " formerly stood a cross, dedicated to St. Frideswide, and a pulpit, from which Wickliffe first delivered those doctrines, which, after many interruptions, finally became the religion of the nation."

The see of Oxford and deanery of Christ Church are perhaps unrivalled, in having uniformly possessed men of the most distinguished talents, learning, and virtue. Of the twenty-six bishops and thirty-four deans since the foundation of Wolsey to the present day, the great majority of them has left the world lasting proofs of their industry, learning, and knowledge, as able theologians, poets, philosophers, politicians, philologists, or divines. Bishops Corbet, Fell, Potter, Secker, and Lowth; and deans Cowper, Goodwyn, Aldrich, Atterbury, Conybeare, Markham, &c. are sufficient examples. However strange, and to our country disgraceful, it may appear, yet many of these worthy men's excellent writings have never yet been honoured by correct and uniform editions; and several of their names are even omitted in our biographical dictionaries. The poetical and witty bishop Corbet has been more fortunate in obtaining an able and judicious editor of his poems, with a faithful sketch of his life. The following summary of his character* indicates the excellent talents and amiable disposition of the man. " His person," says Mr. Gilchrist, " if we may rely upon a fine portrait of him in the hall of Christ Church, was dignified, and his frame above the common size; one of his companions (Gomersal) observes, he had ' A face that might heaven to affection draw;' and Aubrey says he had heard that ' he had an admirable grave and venerable aspect.' In no record of his life is there the slightest trace of malevolence or tyranny; ' he was,' says Fuller, ' of a courteous carriage, and no destructive nature to any who offended ' him, counting himself plentifully repaired with a jest upon him.' Benevolent, generous, and spirited in his public character; sincere, amiable, and affectionate in private life; correct, eloquent, and ingenious as a poet; he appears to have deserved, and enjoyed through life, the patronage and friendship of the great, and the applause and estimation of the good." He died in 1635.

Dr. Tresham, canon, " baptized Great Tom of Oxford by the name of Mary, for the joy of queen Mary's reign; he was so delighted with the noise of it, that he promised the students if they would come to mass, which was restored by Mary, to get the Lady Bell of Bampton, of which he was vicar, and others, added to it, to make it the sweetest ring of bells in England." Pope John XIII. was the first who consecrated and baptized bells, about 970.

* See " The Poems of Richard Corbet, late Bishop of Oxford and Norwich, with biographical Notes, and a Life of the Author. By O. Gilchrist, F. S. A."; the ingenious author of a humourous defence of Ben Jonson.

There was another bishop of this see who lived half a century later than Corbet, and whose admirable writings have been universally read, we mean Dr. John Fell, son of the dean, a divine and moralist of the first class. This good and great man was equally a liberal benefactor to his college, which he contributed to complete, and to the public, that he laboured incessantly to enlighten and reform. His "Whole Duty of Man," one of the most popular books of its kind, has occasioned many imitations; his little volumes, entitled "the Gentleman's Calling," and "the Ladies Calling," whether considered with regard to matter or style, should be familiar in every well regulated family. The number and merit, indeed, of the distinguished characters which have illustrated the annals of Christ Church, whether as bishops, deans, canons, &c. present a gratifying view of human nature. Among them may be found some of the first promoters of the Royal Society, an institution which has been no less propitious to true religion than the extension of human science. The reformation gave birth to Christ Church, and the offspring is worthy its ever memorable parent, the source of true piety, right reason, civilization, profound science, and all that is great and good in social or rational man.

DIMENSIONS OF CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL.

The length from east to west is only 154 feet; the transept from north to south 102; the nave is 74 and the choir 80 feet long. The breadth of the nave and side aisles is 54 feet; the height of the ceiling in the nave is 41 and a half, and that of the choir only 37 feet and a half. The height of the spire which was erected by Wolsey in 1523 is 144 feet.

The nave and transept are raftered and pannelled, like some of our best wrought parochial churches; but the choir and aisles on each side are all vaulted or arched with stone.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1, A South-west View from the Cloisters, the only point of public access, whence the cathedral can be seen, it being almost surrounded by gardens and private grounds. Part of the chapter-house appears on the right side, with its entrance from the cloister, a finely-ornamented door in the Saxon or old English style.

Plate 2, A North-west View, exhibiting the North Transept, having a pinnacle on its west side, with a niche containing a statue of St. Frideswide. Part of the nave is seen between the trees. The view is taken from the garden of Dr. Dowdeswell, canon of Christ Church.

Plate 3, Represents Divinity Chapel, in which Latin prayers are read. It has four windows, the heads of which are all dissimilar, and diversified in a most fanciful manner. The mulberry tree in front is more than a hundred years standing. The view is taken from the garden before mentioned.

Plate 4, Shews the Eastern Side of the Chapter-house; the beautifully pierced window of a small chapel between it and the south aisle of the choir; the choir, and its terminating towers. This view is taken from a well cultivated garden.

Plate 5, Is a View taken in the cloisters, whence may be seen the principal Entrance to the cathedral under a plain porch, and the East Side of the great Quadrangle of Christ Church.

Plate 6, Is an interior prospect of the South Side of the Nave and Choir, with its excellent groined and pendent Cieling, by some attributed to Wolsey, and by others to King, the first bishop; the view of the latter is partly obstructed by the organ and screen. In the nave stands a finely-carved pulpit, from which are occasionally delivered the university sermons.

Plate 7. This View displays the Entrance to the north aisle of the choir, to the deans' chapel, and to the divinity chapel, with the end window of the north transept. The groining of the respective chapels is seen through large circular openings, and also the windows of the Latin chapel. The door of the deans' chapel being open, a part of one of the monuments may be observed.

Plate 8, Is the Tomb of Guymond or Phillip, the first or third prior of St. Frideswide.

Drawn & Engd by J. Storer

Pl 1.

S.W. View of Oxford Cathedral

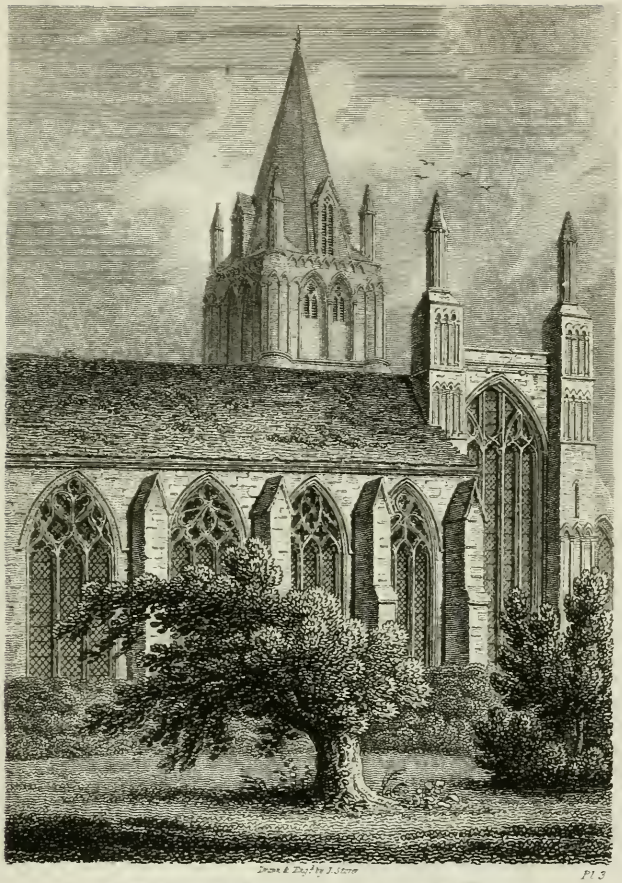
Published June 1 1815 by Harwood Neale & Jones Paternoster Row.

Drawn & Etch.d by J. Storer

Pl. 1

N.W. View of Oxford Cathedral.

Published June 1.1815 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.



Drawn & Etch'd by J. Storer

Pl. 3

The Latin Chapel, Oxford Cathedral.

Published June 1.1813 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row.

Drawn & Engd by J. Storer.

Pl. 4

S.E. View of Oxford Cathedral.

To the Revd. C. H. Hall, D.D. Dean of Christ Church Oxford
This Plate is most Respectfully inscribed
by his humble Servt. J. Storer.

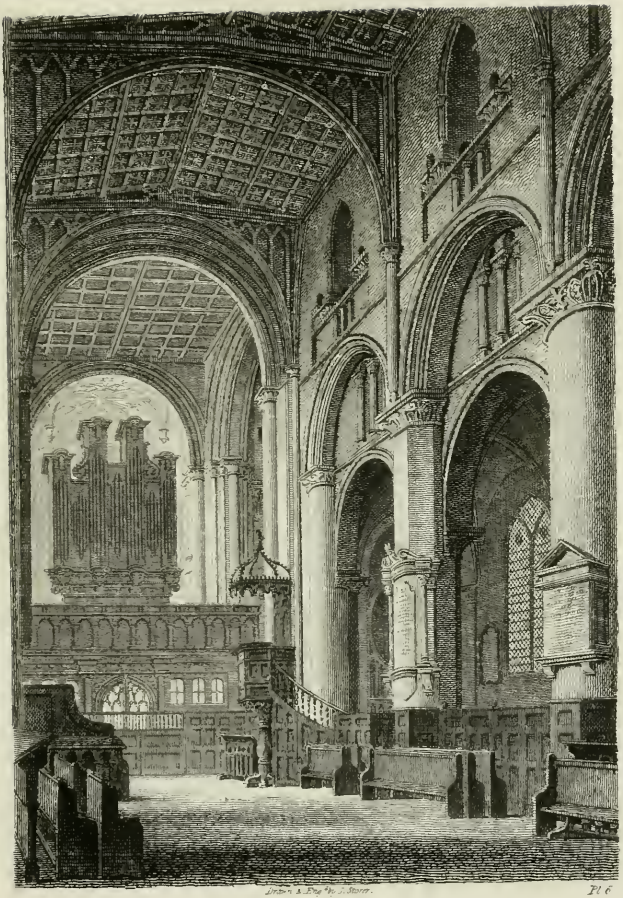
Published June 1.1818 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row.

Drawn & Engd by J. Storer

Pl. 1

The Cloisters. Oxford Cathedral

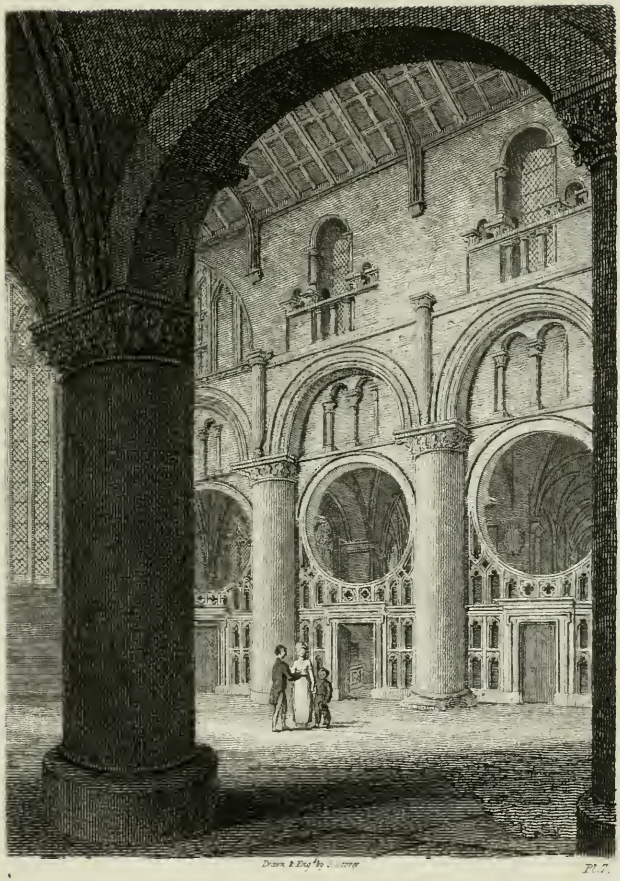
Published May 1.1823 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row



Pl 6

Oxford Cathedral.

To the Right Revd Wm Jackson, DD.
Lord Bishop of Oxford, this Plate is
most Respectfully inscribed by his
Lordships most Obligd & humle Servt J. Storer

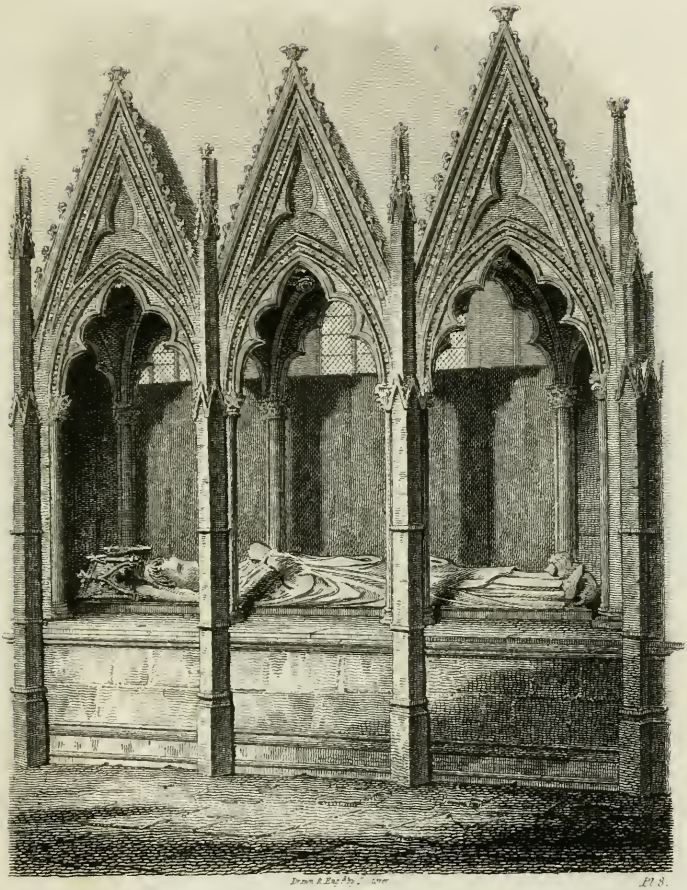


Drawn & Etch.d by J. Storer

Pl. 7.

N. Transept Oxford Cathedral.

Published June 1.1815 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row



Drawn & Engd by ... &c.

Pl 8.

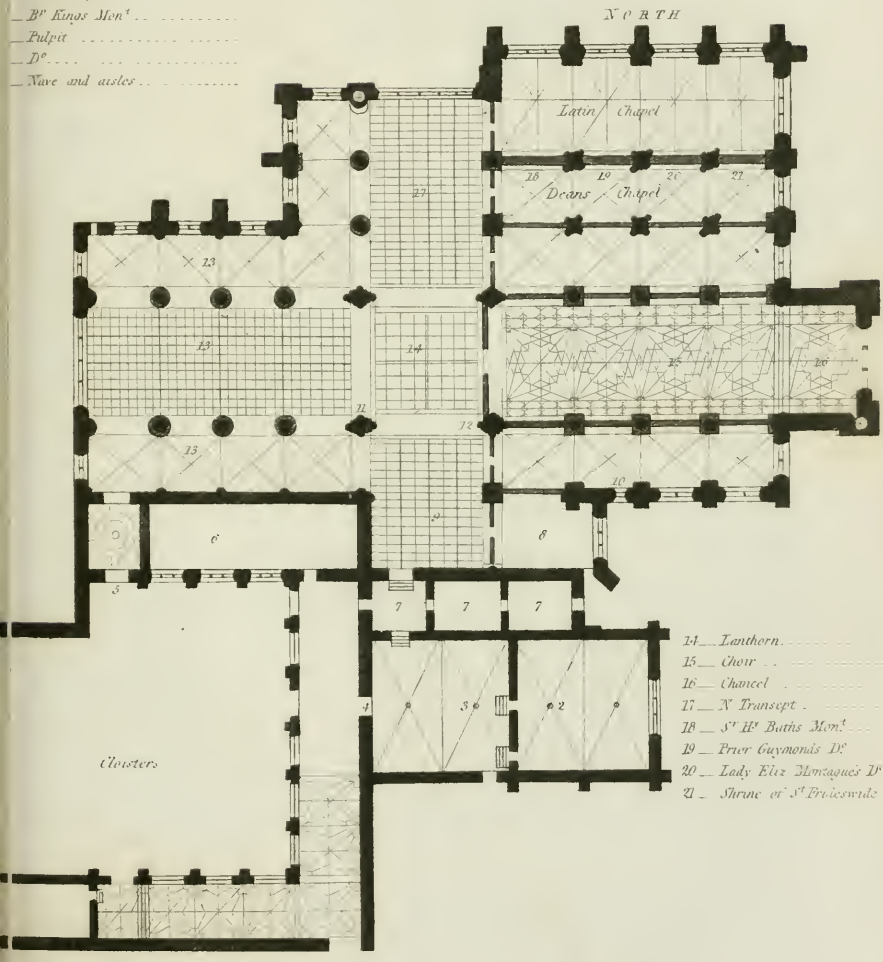
Guymond's Tomb, Oxford Cathedral.

Published June 1.1821 by ... Harwood, Piatt, & Jones Paternoster Row.

OXFORD CATHEDRAL,

Shewing the groining of the Roof

1 — Chapter house
2 — Anti-room to D°
Entrance D°.
3 — Principal entrance to the church
4 — Record room
5 — Sextons Lodgings
6 — Vestry
7 — S Transept
8 — B^p Kings Mon^t
9 — Pulpit
10 — D°
11 — Nave and aisles



14 — Lanthorn
15 — Choir
16 — Chancel
17 — N Transept
18 — S^r H^y Baths Mon^t
19 — Prior Guymonds D°
20 — Lady Eliz Montagues D°
21 — Shrine of S^t Frideswide

by J Hardwick

Published June

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Peterburgh.

RESPECTING the ancient site of Medeshamsted, or the city and Cathedral of Peterburgh, very little is recorded. Its original name, however, as well as the pleasant situation *, would seem to indicate its having been at least a village, if not a considerable town, in the kingdom of Mercia, the largest state in the Saxon heptarchy. The eastern part of that kingdom being fenny, it was then called *gyr*, and the inhabitants were subsequently denominated by the Latin termination *gyrvii*, or fen-men. The earliest record of this place denominates it *Medeshamstede*, i. e. meadow-village-site. The adjunct *sted*, place or site, which all writers concur in post-fixing to this name, is a presumptive proof that it had been "the busy haunt of men," long before the erection of the Abbey, though by what name it was designated it is now useless to inquire. Gunton derives the word *Medes* from a supposed gulf in the Nen, called *Medes-well*; Bridges, more naturally, attributes it to the local peculiarity of rich meads or meadows, extending along the banks of the Nen; others convert the *hamsted* into a *homestead*, belonging to the extensive meadows eastward of the town †. The literal import of this name, however, is sufficiently clear and consistent with the usual practice of that age in denominating places.

Much of the early history of this conventual edifice consists of fable and fact, blended with considerable ingenuity. It appears that preparations for its construction were made (according to abbot Hedda in 650) prior to the death of Penda, king of Mercia, who defeated and killed the Northumbrian king Oswald, since called a martyr and saint.

* "This district, says Pitt, might be termed the Nile of England, and with the advantage over its rival abroad, of not depending minutely on seasons: for crops are here very full in wet or in dry seasons. After this, who but must wonder that so large a tract of it as Peterborough Fen should have remained, to this day, undivided and uncultivated."---Agric. Report of Northampton.

† Matthew of Westminster writes it simply "*Hamstede* quod nunc Burgi Sancti Petri dicitur;" and dean Patrick makes *Medeshamstede* to signify "the village, or house *standing* upon the *Medes*, or meadows."

This warrior monarch had three sons, Peada, Wolfere, and Ethelred, and two daughters, Kynesburga and Kyneswitha. Peada, his eldest son, went on a friendly visit to prince Alhfrid, nephew of Oswald, in Northumberland, where he was converted to Christianity by Finnanus, a Scottish bishop. A friendship was then contracted between these princes, which was confirmed by an intermarriage, Peada marrying Alfeda, the sister of Alhfrid, and the latter Kynesburga. Penda died shortly after. He was succeeded by Peada, who, on ascending the throne in 655 or 656, laid the foundation of the Abbey of Medeshamsted. The stone used for this purpose was procured at Bernack, near Stamford, and so large were the blocks, that eight yoke of oxen could scarcely draw one of them. The stone of the present building, although inferior to granite or porphyry, is of considerable durability: it consists of very minute shells, agglutinated in crystalized carbonat of lime, with a small portion of iron. That in the north aisle of the choir and north transept is very compact, and is the most durable kind of calcareous shell-stone, which the French call *gres*, and which was often used by the Romans * in their buildings. The royal founder of the Abbey, however, did not live to finish it, having died in the fourth year of his reign. Tradition ascribes the premature death of Peada to his Christian wife, but the monks seldom hesitated to reflect even on Christianity itself so that they could scandalize the female sex. He was succeeded by his brother, Wolfere, who was also a convert to the Christian faith, and the husband of princess Ermenilda, daughter of Egbert, king of Kent. Although this lady's name has been placed in the popish pantheon, and her husband devoted his time and wealth to the completion of the Abbey of Medeshamsted, yet the ungrateful friars many centuries after did not hesitate to invent a legend more hideous and unnatural than any thing to be found in authentic story. They represented Wolfere as being directed by his steward, relapsing from Christianity, ceasing to build religious houses, and having actually murdered his two sons, on account of their Christian piety. This terrific and incredible tale, as well as Wolfere's conversion by St. Chad, would be wholly unworthy of notice, had not Gunton stated that it furnished the subject of a series of paintings on glass, which decorated the windows in the western cloister †.

* The Society of Antiquaries, says Gough, have a drawing of a Roman urn and coins found in 1753 at Sowthorpe pits, near Bernack and Stamford, a proof that these famous quarries, which furnished stone for Peterborough, Ramsey, St. Edmund's Bury, and other abbey churches, were known to the Romans. Mr. Frederick exhibited to the Society a Roman *fibula* found there in 1738.---Brit. Topog. v. ii. p. 47.

† According to this author the cloisters formed a quadrangle. On every side were nine

(b)

King Wolfere having completed the Abbey by the assistance of his brother, sisters, and Saxulf, a pious and prudent man, convened an assembly of his nobles and bishops, who dedicated it to the apostle St. Peter. He granted it large immunities, privileges, and possessions, extending its jurisdiction from Croyland eastward to Wansford bridge on the west, and northward to Easton and Stamford, including the hundred of Nassaburgh; all these endowments were ratified by his charter of confirmation in 664. Wolfere dying without issue in 675 was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, who, to show his affection for this Abbey, built a house for the abbot, bestowed on it divers lordships, and sent Wilfred, archbishop of York, to Rome, where he procured from pope Agatho several extraordinary privileges, and a confirmation of preceding grants, such as that "*if any Briton, or any persons of the neighbouring islands had a desire to visit Rome, and could not by reason of its distance, they might visit St. Peter's in this monastery, there pay their vows, be absolved from their sins, and receive the apostolical benediction.*" This was confirmed by the pope and 125 bishops at Rome in 680. Such a grant was, in fact, constituting it a vice-papal see. In addition to the above, the abbot of Medeshamsted was to be chief of all the abbots north of the Thames, and to have precedence in all conventions and ecclesiastical assemblies.

The first abbot of Medeshamsted was Saxulf, who had assisted in its erection, and who, though an earl, became religious president of this richly-endowed establishment. He being a man of talents and piety, soon congregated persons of a religious character, and his novices became so numerous that he founded Thorney abbey, and supplied it with inmates from Medeshamsted. Saxulf, being consecrated archbishop of the Mercians, was succeeded by Cuthbald in 673, but the monotony of a monkish life and the growing wealth and luxury* of the Abbey, presented too few incidents to be recorded, too little interest to survive the desolating barbarism of the Danish invaders during the ninth century. King Ethelred, after reigning thirty years, laid down his crown and sceptre, shaved the top of his head and neck, became first a monk,

windows with four compartments, filled with excellent painted glass. The south cloister contained the history of the Old and New Testament: the north and east, effigies of the kings in succession from Penda: and the west the history of the Abbey till its restoration by Edgar. In each compartment was an English distich, explanatory of the painting. The following is a specimen:

"Seynt Athelwold was bidden by God's lore
The Abbey of Brough again to restore."
"Edgar bad Athelwold the work begin,
And him to help he would not *lyn*."

* During this period, such was the degeneracy and licentiousness of the clergy, that in 747 a council was held at Cliffe, to check their vices, and the Lord's Prayer and Creed were then appointed to be read in churches in the vernacular dialect of the English. In the following year the use of the Christian era was introduced.

and afterwards died abbot of Bardney in 716. The succeeding abbots of Medeshamsted were Egbald, Pusa, Beonna, and Celred; the dates of their reign are uncertain; but Hedda, the seventh abbot, assumed that office in 833, and continued till the predatory incursion of the Danes under Hulba, who in 870 plundered and desolated the abbeys of Croyland and Thorney, and attacked that of Medeshamsted, where, as a place of strength, the neighbouring people had assembled in great numbers to defend themselves. Tulba, the brother of the Danish earl Hulba, being mortally bruised by a stone thrown on his head from the tower which he assaulted, so enraged the Danish chief, that he slew all the friars with his own hand, and among them the ancient and venerable abbot Hedda, a man of learning and talents, who wrote some historical memoirs of the middle age. The Abbey and all its dependencies were plundered, destroyed or burnt, by this Danish savage; but the greater part of his waggons of plunder sunk in the rivers and fens, and were totally lost. The library, archives of the Abbey, charters, and many other writings, were at this time torn, or destroyed by the fire which continued burning fifteen days.

Shortly after the ruin of these abbeys, some of the monks of Croyland who had escaped the general carnage, returned to their defaced buildings, cleared and repaired them, and elected Godric for their abbot. This monk, anxious to know the state of Medeshamsted, first sent a messenger to see it, and afterwards visited it himself, gathered together the mangled bodies or bones of eighty-four friars, laid them in a grave near the east of the Abbey* on St. Cecilia's day, and set up a pyramidal stone, three feet high, with the figures of the abbot and friars engraven on it, that the passing visitors might pray their souls out of purgatory †. This stone he called Medeshamsted, after the name of the town. A similar stone still remains, containing on one side six rudely executed figures of men in niches, under circular arches; the bevelled top has been ornamented with flowers. On the end of this stone is the date 870 in Arabic figures, which must be of more modern execution, as no such characters were known in this country ‡ prior to the end of the tenth century (990). While Medes-

* In 740 the custom of burying in cities and towns was introduced, before that time the highways were the usual places.

† It was pope Gregory, called the Great, who about the year 600 instituted prayers to dead men and women, sacrifices or masses for the dead, and purgatory. These practices furnished a most productive source of revenue, and were of the greatest advantage to the Abbey of Medeshamsted. In consequence of such mercenary institutions every one of its murdered friars became like so many knights' fees, let by the Abbey to all those who had money to tender as service.

‡ The date 975 on a gateway in Worcester, cannot be implicitly relied on, although it is probable that those characters were derived direct from Spain.

hamsted had no longer an abbot and friars to defend it, Beorred, king of the Mercians, seized all its possessions between Stamford, Huntingdon, and Wisbech, and gave them to his soldiers. The Abbey thus desolated, amidst scenes of perpetual warfare, lay in its ruins near ninety-nine years, till Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, visited it in 961, and prevailed on king Edgar to assist him in restoring the church. The story of Athelwold's praying for aid to repair this celebrated Abbey, and Edgar's queen listening to his prayers, is sufficiently plausible for the age and occasion. The influence gained over women by priests in auricular confession is well known; the atrocious abuse of this hideous violation of the chastity of nature is also known by the numerous laws against *confessores solicitantes*. Athelwold therefore might easily succeed in engaging his majesty to repair the Abbey of Medeshamsted, as Edgar had killed the husband of Elfrida, and taken her to wife in 970, had violated the nun Editha, and as an atonement founded forty-seven religious houses. Medeshamsted Abbey being completely repaired in 970, it was visited by Edgar, accompanied with the ferocious Dunstan †, then archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald, archbishop of York. On this occasion it was discovered that some of the ancient charters of the Abbey had survived the fury of the Danes, and that they had been deposited in places equally inaccessible to the enemy and to the flames. Edgar desired to see these documents, and on finding that he had a second Rome (vid. p. *(c)* in his kingdom, wept for joy; and in the presence of this numerous assembly of the nobility and clergy, publicly confirmed all its former privileges, bestowing on it, in conjunction with the nobles and clergy present, large oblations, some of lands, and others of gold, silver, and rélics. At this ceremony the name of Medeshamsted was changed ‡ to *Burch* or *Burgh;* and in consequence of the splended buildings, delightful situation, extensive privileges, rich possessions, gold and silver, with which it was endowed, it vulgarly obtained the name of *Gildenburgh;* but, from the dedication of the Abbey to St. Peter, it has always been designated by the appellation of *Peter Burgh.* The Abbey being re-established, Edgar appointed his chancellor, Adulf, abbot. This Adulf had an only son, whom he and his wife tenderly loved; the child slept with his parents, but they, having drank one night

† It was this monster, who has been kalendared as a saint, that barbarously burnt the beautiful face of queen Elgiva, that she might be disgusting to her lord, and afterwards caused her to be murdered on her return from exile in Ireland. He also introduced celibacy among the clergy, and committed more crimes under the mask of religion than any man of his age or nation.

‡ According to William of Malmesbury the name of the Abbey was not changed till Kenulf surrounded it with a wall, when it was called *Burgh*, or town; but it is more probable that it received this name on its restoration, as the people would naturally return to and repair the houses adjoining the Abbey, although the latter lay in ruins almost a century.

too freely of wine, suffocated him. This misfortune so affected his father, that, according to the spirit of the age, he resolved to go to Rome as a penance. Bishop Athelwold dissuaded him from this experiment, and advised him to labour at the restoration of St. Peter's church in Medeshamsted. Following this very judicious counsel, he came with king Edgar to Burgh, where, in the presence of the king and of that convention, he offered all his wealth, put off his court robes, assumed the habit of a friar, and in 972 ascended to the dignity of abbot. Adulf still retaining something of the statesman, cleared the whole country, now called Burghsoke, then a woody waste, and added to the revenues and dignity of the Abbey. Such indeed was the celebrity to which this Abbey of Benedictine friars * had attained, that whether king, lord, bishop, or abbot came there to pray, all put off their shoes at the gate, and entered barefooted.

Adulf was succeeded in 992 by Kenulf, who enclosed the Abbey with a wall, some fragments of which are still remaining. Kenulf was created bishop of Winchester in 1006, under violent suspicion of simony. He was succeeded by Elsine, the tenth abbot, who enriched the Abbey by a most extraordinary collection of relics, among which were two pieces of Christ's swaddling clothes, two of the manger wherein he lay, four of his cross, four of his sepulchre, fragments of the five loaves, St. Mary's garment and veil, Aaron's rod, relics of Sts. John, Symon, Peter, Paul, and the arms of St. Oswald †, and St. Swithin, (bishop of Winchester in 862, the popish god of rainy notoriety), with many hundred others which he procured in France when accompanying the queen of Ethelred during the Danish invasion ‡. Elsine died, and

* Benedict's order was approved by the Pope in 595, and from that time till the council of Constance in 1415, it had extended itself so as to have 55,460 saints, thirty-five popes, 220 cardinals, 1164 archbishops, and 3512 bishops among its initiated adherents. *Florez, Clave Historial con que se abre la puerta a la Historia Eclesiastica.*

† This was a Christian prince, distinguished by his piety and charity. The conspicuous part which the supposed arm of this monarch performed for many centuries, renders it necessary to introduce something of its history here. It happened that Aydan, a Scottish bishop, witnessing one of his charitable deeds, took the king by the right hand, and exclaimed, "May this hand never become old." Oswald was afterwards defeated by Penda, king of the Mercians, and by his order torn in pieces in 643. Oswald's right arm, however, was preserved, and brought to the Abbey of Peterburgh, where it remained uncorrupted, and entire in skin, flesh, and bones, for several centuries. In 1130, 487 years after the death of Oswald, it was exhibited to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and in 1207 to king John. Hugh White, whose history of Peterburgh Abbey comes down to 1175, says, that when this arm was shewn to bishop Alexander, he himself saw it with his own eyes, handled it with his own hands, kissed, and washed it. A curious instance this, observes a learned dignitary, of papal legerdemain and papal credulity.

‡ Of all the invaders of this island, the Danes are exclusively those against whom the national indignation should be directed. They were most indocile barbarians and insatiable robbers. It is a general truth, that whenever a civilized country is invaded with success, its government and people are sunk in luxury and vice. This was the state of the Britons, who, unable to defend themselves against the Scots and Picts, solicited the aid of the Saxons; in like manner the Saxons had degenerated by luxury and licentiousness, and lost their patriotic spirit, when plundered by the Danes, and subjugated by the Normans. The relative state of the invaders and the invaded is well depicted by the antiquarian poet:-

was succeeded in 1055 by Arwin, or Ernwin, who retired in 1057 to give place to Leofric or Leuric. This abbot was a most audacious pluralist, and held at once the abbeys of Peterburgh, Burton, Coventry, Croyland, and Thorney. He redeemed however certain lands belonging to the Abbey, and ornamented the conventual church with a large cross, a table, and a pair of candlesticks, all of them made wholly of gold and silver. Egilric, bishop of Durham †, returned with all his fortune to this Abbey, of which he had originally been a friar. In 1066 Brando was elected abbot; he is distinguished only by the singular act of making a knight of his nephew, Hereward le Wake, son of Leofric lord of Brunne, a valiant man, who bravely opposed the Normans. In this respect his conduct seems to have furnished a precedent to pope Innocent VIII. who in 1490 promoted to honours all his natural children. Thorold or Turold, a Norman monk of Fescamp, was made abbot by William the Norman Bastard, in order to oppose le Wake, who took the abbot prisoner, and ransomed him for thirty marks. About the same time the Danes under king Sweyn made a predatory incursion into the eastern district, and proceeded from Ely to Peterburgh. They began their attack on the Abbey near *Bolehithe* gate, probably situated near the upper extremity of a ditch now called Bell Dyke ‡. At this place the friars fought with such valour as to repel their enemies, who, unable to force an entrance, set fire to the houses, and thus succeeded in their object. The whole town, except one house, and all the out-buildings belonging to the Abbey, being consumed by fire, the plunderers entered the sacred edifice, and carried off all its ornaments and vessels of precious metal. To prevent any further attack of the Danes, abbot Turold raised a mound on the north side of the Abbey, and erected a tower upon it. This mound, a considerable part of which still remains, was anciently called Mount Turold, and now known by the name of Tout-hill.

Godric, brother of Brando, succeeded Turold in 1098; during his abbacy some robbers stole the gold crosses, chalices, gold candlesticks, and jewels, given by archbishop Elfric. The robbers were taken, but the king seized the plate, and kept it as well as the Abbey four years. In 1103, Matthias was appointed abbot, but lived only a year, when the

"There force and hardy deeds of blood prevail;
Here languid pleasure sighs in every gale.
As oft have issued, host impelling host,
The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast;
The prostrate south to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden fields."

† He was accused before William of Normandy, committed to prison, died in confinement, and buried with his fetters on in St. Nicholas chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1072.

‡ Popular tradition attributes this name, Bell-dyke, to the reputed circumstance of great Tom of Lincoln having been found in this ditch, whence it was taken to Lincoln.

king kept it till 1107, and gave it to Ernulf, a Frenchman, who built a refectory, new dormitory, and finished the chapter-house and other buildings. At this period a commutation was made with the friars for knights' service*, when it was agreed that every knight should annually pay to the sacristan two parts of his tithes, and at his death a third of his whole estate, while all his military accoutrements, arms, and cavalry, with his corpse, should be offered to St. Peter, for the right of sepulture in the Abbey church, the friars stipulating to perform the funeral obsequies with the customary ceremonies. This accounts for the enormous wealth afterwards accumulated by the Abbey. Ernulf was made bishop of Rochester, and was succeeded by John de Sais, another Norman friar (sometimes called John of Salisbury), in 1114. Two years after this, the whole Abbey was burnt, except the buildings newly erected by the late Norman abbot. Abbot de Sais, it is recorded, a turbulent Norman, being one day in a passion, ordered the devil to burn the Abbey, and his Satanic majesty was very obedient to his orders; but it is not a little singular how the devil suffered all Ernulf's buildings to escape, had there not been something of national prejudice as well as superstition in the business. The town also suffered by this truly diabolical conflagration; the fire began in the bake-house, and continued in one of the towers nine days. The town, it is said, then stood east of the Abbey, but on rebuilding it, was placed west of it. In March 1117, abbot de Sais laid the foundation of a *new* church, and this, it is generally believed, was the origin of the present Cathedral. But, without questioning the existence of a fire, the assertion that this Norman "inchoavit *novam* ecclesiam, et jactavit *fundamentum*," rests only on the authority of Swapham or Hugh White, who affirmed that he saw the arm of St. Oswald uncorrupted or unwithered after 487 years! That the church might then suffer much damage, the roof be destroyed, the doors and windows burnt, and the ceiling otherwise injured, may be true; but that the whole edifice could be burnt, the ruins cleared off, and the foundation of a new building laid all in *one year*, in that age, are circumstances equally improbable and impossible. It is quite as easy and as rational to believe the story of Oswald's arm, or that the devil burnt the Abbey, as that all the above events occurred in the short space of time mentioned. Had it not been traditionally stated that the position of the town was

* According to Madox, Baron. Anglican. the Abbey of Peterburgh had sixty fees, or the service of sixty knights, and allowing each knight's fee to consist of six hundred and eighty acres of land, it possessed forty thousand eight hundred acres. The Norman conqueror required military service from the clergy, from bishops, abbots, and friars, who held lands of the crown. —Maseres on the English Parliament, Archaiologia, vol. ii,

changed, it might have been concluded that the foundation of the new church was not on the site of the old; but the removal of the town renders such a conclusion improbable. There is, therefore, more circumstantial evidence* to conclude that a considerable part of the nave

* It would exceed the limits of this work to investigate the controversies about Saxon, Norman, and Gothic architecture; but the judicious opinion of bishop Littleton on this subject, as it relates to Peterburgh, ought not to be omitted. His lordship observes, "that by much the greater part of the nave is of a far older style of architecture than the chapel of the porch (seen in plate 1), or indeed than the whole west front, together with the lowermost pillars and arches next to the west door, and the towers and spires over them. The nave and choir consisting of thick pillars, semicircular arches, and hatched mouldings, with the termination of the choir in a semicircle, are all works of a very high antiquity. The above-mentioned chapel and west front, therefore, which are in the usual Gothic style, could not be built by the same person who built the nave. We may then be inclined to believe that the present nave and choir are parts of the Saxon fabric erected by Athelwold, that the damages which the church sustained by fire in Henry I.'s time, were repaired by abbots De Sais and De Vecti, and that abbot Waterville (about 1170) and his successor erected the noble west front and towers, with the lowermost arches in the nave or body." These conclusions have been rejected but not refuted, and are likely to be generally adopted whenever more rational and just notions of really English architecture prevail. The semicircular termination of this church, like the Basilica of Constautine at Rome, furnishes presumptuve evidence that the original architect had visited the papal see long prior to the invasion of the Normans, or, as they would be more properly designated, Gallo-Norwegians.

It has, of late, become fashionable to consider the Saxons and Anglo-Saxons, all of whom should be denominated Albions or English, from the origin of the Heptarchy, as ignorant barbarians, and to attribute all our arts and civilization to the polished Normans, who are confounded with the more ingenious French. On this principle the circular and lancet arched buildings are indiscriminately called Norman; the style called Gothic, which prevailed all over Europe, is also called Norman, and the Normans must have been the sole architects of the Old World. Whittington and lord Aberdeen (Ecc. Ant. of France) have shewn that Gothic architecture was not peculiar to the English and Normans; they might have added, that the fine cathedrals of Bourdeaux and Poictiers, were built by Englishmen; but that, as to the pointed arch, Pallas has given views of it existing in ruins in the south of Russia, certainly not the work of the Normans, and very similar to what appears in one of the plates in Bridges' Northamptonshire, as formerly existing at Peterburgh. A number of authors might be cited to prove that neither Norwegians nor Normans were ever great architects; on the contrary, their destroying spirit in the ninth century is recorded by Felibien, Millin, Muratori, and many other French and Italian writers. Gibbon, whose obliquity of intellect would preclude him from being an authority, were he not supported by a cloud of witnesses, has well delineated the Norman character (Rom. Emp. vol x.). The Normans, *gens astutissima, injuriarum ultrix, adulari sciens*, "are a *cunning and revengeful people;* eloquence and dissimulation are their hereditary qualities; they can stoop to flatter, but unless curbed by law, they indulge their licentiousness and passions. They blend the extremes of avarice and prodigality; arms, horses, dress, hunting, and hawking are their delight." "They neither loved nor trusted; they were neither beloved nor trusted. Every object of desire, a horse, a woman, or garden, tempted and gratified their rapaciousness, and the avarice of their chiefs was but slightly coloured with the specious names of ambition and glory." Yet with all this evidence of Norman barbarism and ignorance of the arts and sciences, Mr. Burdon (Britton's Architectural Antiquities, vol. 3), does not hesitate to ascribe all the old edifices in this country to the Normans, spurning the idea of any buildings being erected by the Saxons (or English), seems to think, with the sages exposed by Dr. Stukeley, that there were no stones in England prior to the Norman conquest, and concludes, "It is, in my opinion, not very difficult to distinguish *three different kinds of the Norman architecture*. The *early*, which began before the Conquest (Edward the Confessor, it is well known, introduced the Norman style of building and Norman architecture, prior to the Conquest), [what absurdity!] and of which Waltham Abbey, Durham, &c. are specimens; the *middle*, which is the style of Peterburgh, Malmsbury, &c.; and the *latter*, which is that of Lincoln, the choir of Canterbury, &c. This division will, perhaps, be found accurate, and lead to something like certainty on a subject so long doubtful." Unfortunately it has not even led Mr. Britton to a certainty; and is still farther from convincing us, who from the clearest evidence, *cannot hesitate in roundly affirming, that there is no such thing in existence, as any peculiar style of architecture invented or even adopted by the Normans*. Mr. Burdon, and nearly all the advocates of Norman architecture, confound the Normans with the modern French, or at least with the Limogese and Troubadours, the first modern poets of Europe. A little acquaintance with the history of France would disabuse them of this error. The same feeling which ascribes so much merit to the Normans, equally impels them to detract from that of the Anglo-Saxons. The Welsh, it is true, can never forgive the Saxons; yet after the clear evidence adduced by Whitaker (Hist. of Manchester) that the Saxons were originally Celts, and consequently of the same primitive stock as the Britons, only deriving their name from the modern Soissons in France, their wrath should have been appeased. That the Saxons were infinitely more ingenious than the Norwegians from Normandy (both of whom spoke a language mutually intelligible), there is ample evidence; that most of our present implements of husbandry, and the better part of our agricultural systems and rural architecture are derived from them, it has never been denied; and it is notorious, that both ancient and modern Saxons were extremely ingenious and expert in mechanics, while neither Norwegians nor Normans have evinced much address in this respect; hence it appears that the circular Saxon arches

and choir of the present Cathedral is actually the work of Peada and Saxulf, with the additions of Athelwold †, than that they were began by this Norman madman. It is well known that the Normans took every opportunity of erasing or changing every thing English, that they altered or defaced various buildings, merely to change their English character, and that their whole policy was to *crush* English customs and *imitate* French ones. All the injury which fire could do to such massy stone walls, must have been very trifling ;—the stone, of which they are composed, is a bad conductor of heat, and it cannot be calcined without undergoing a white heat. But, it may be alleged, that the kings of Albion were too much engaged in war to erect such stately edifices. This allegation originates in a very contracted view of the influence of religious feelings in all ages ; it is no argument against the existence of Anglo-Saxon churches ‡ in our " island of saints."

De Sais, being a notorious debauchee, did not live to finish his new church, but died of a dropsy in 1125, and was succeeded by Henry de Angeli or Anjou, in 1128, a relative of the king, and a most covetous and fraudulent drone, who was compelled to resign after importing the superstition § from France of black devils riding horses and asses during Lent, called Arthur's chace. Martin de Bec, in Normandy, alias de Vecti (of Wight), was appointed abbot in 1133 ; he completed the new erections in 1137, and on St. Peter's day, the relics were removed, the monks introduced with great pomp, and the works dedicated, or rather *consecrated* (a practice common in the popish church whenever any repairs are performed) in the presence of the bishop of Lincoln, the abbots of Croyland, Thorney, and Ramsey, with several barons and knights. It was on this occasion that the thing called Oswald's arm was exhibited. During this abbacy king Stephen came to visit this wonder-working arm, and being no doubt convinced of its miraculous powers, made an offering of his ring to it. De Bec planted a

were of Roman origin, and their numerous diversified ornaments were entirely Saxon or English inventions. The substitution of pointed arches and enormous buttresses, the necessary effect of ignorance of mathematical science, may be ascribed to the Normans, or to other causes; but there is not the least evidence of any one building having been erected in England by the Normans, where circular arches and Saxon or English ornaments appear, and for which they had not before their eyes a model either of English or Roman execution. Rochester castle is no exception to this position, which the more it is examined the more it will be found correct in all its bearings. Away then for ever with the absurd and erroneous epithet " Norman architecture ;" let the age, the century, and not the name of a foreign people, designate, in future, the varying styles of our national buildings.

† As an additional evidence of the Saxon origin of this cathedral, it may be observed that Mr. Petit Andrews exhibited about forty Saxon coins to the Society of Antiquaries, found at Peterburgh; one of them was of Edmund, one of Edward Confessor, and one of Harold.– Archai, vol. 8.

‡ If the heathens in early ages could afford to raise such temples to their great men, the gods of their own passions, why not the early Christians? The Temple of Olympian Jupiter in the petty island of Sicily has been estimated by Prideaux (Annal. Marb.) at an expense of eight thousand talents, equal to ninety-six millions sterling! In fact, it was in ages of comparative poverty in all nations when the most stupendous public buildings were erected, and when all the wealth of the country was at the disposal of one or two individuals.

§ So late as 1712, five persons were executed for witchcraft at Northampton.

vineyard, the name of which is still retained, made many other improvements in the town and vicinity, and went to Rome with the charter of king Ethelred to be confirmed by pope Eugenius III. But a debate arising about the charter which had passed current almost 500 years, an invidious cardinal besought the pope not to give his "glory to another." The artful prelate availed himself of this manœuvre, heaped honours on the abbot at the expense of the abbey, and granted a new charter to De Bec, dated in 1146, in his *own* name*, while that of its founder and benefactor was perfidiously erased. This is another of the innumerable instances where every exertion was made to extinguish all the records of the existence and skill of the Anglo-Saxons or English. The fraud however was not discovered, and De Bec dying, was succeeded by William de Waterville in 1155. Could we place implicit confidence in the recorded beneficence and skill of this abbot, we should admit that he and his successor at least re-modelled the whole Abbey, made a new disposition of the choir, added the cloister with other buildings, founded the chapel under the middle arch of the porch, the hospital of St. Leonard, now called the Spittal, and purchased numerous lands and tenements, which he bestowed on the Abbey. Swapham, Gunton, and Bridges, however, all differ in their accounts of Waterville's works. This destroys the faith of their story. Swapham states that he built two cross aisles *(ambæ cruces)* to the church; but as this abbot was deposed in 1175 (from what cause is uncertain), it is probable his good works have been greatly exaggerated. Benedict† was the next abbot in 1177, and to him also is ascribed the merit of being a great re-edifier, and of rebuilding the nave, after a better manner, from the lantern to the porch. All these stories of rebuilding are to be understood like the stupid inscriptions of churchwardens, by whom "this church was repaired and *beautified*." Bentham has observed that the Norman architects (meaning the English) "laid out their whole design at first," beginning at the east, building westward, and consecrating every part when covered in. This is a theoretical opinion, and only adduced to shore Norman prejudices.

Benedict dying, was succeeded in 1193 by Andreas, who rose from a monk to a prior, and finally an abbot; he was a friend to good cheer, a benefactor to the friars' kitchen, and introduced the gormandizing observance of anniversaries. In 1200 king John made Acharius, or Zacharius, prior of St. Alban's, abbot; he died in 1211,

* This charter was renewed by pope Gregory IX. in 1228.

† This abbot was a man of learning, and author of the Life and Miracles of Canterbury Thomas, of *De Vita et Gestis*, Hen. II. *et* Ric. I. still extant in the Harleian library. He ransomed Richard from prison in Austria, and was ever treated by that king with great respect, and called father.

and was succeeded by Robert de Lindsey in 1214, who glazed above thirty windows in the church, which were then stuffed with reeds and straw, and attended the fourth Lateran council of Innocent IV. In the south cloister he made a marble lavatory * for the friars to wash their hands in before eating, the refectory being on the other side of the wall (see Pl. 5). To the seventy-two friars whom he found in the Abbey he added eight more, and assigned the manor of Belasize for their support. In 1222 Alexander de Holdernesse succeeded him. The next was Martin de Ramsey, in 1226; he obtained an infamous grant from Gregory IX. that whenever the kingdom should be under a general interdict, the friars of Peterburgh might shut the church doors, and without ringing bells, say the service in a low voice, that the people might not participate in it. There is no record of this monkish vengeance being ever gratified. Walter de St. Edmonds becoming abbot in 1233, is recorded to have enlarged the church; probably he finished the west front, and its short transepts. The nave is roofed, or rather ceiled with painted wood †, which might be executed under his direction. Walter witnessed the great charter of liberties granted by Henry III. and in 1237 his church was again solemnly *consecrated* (not dedicated as the Latin *consecrat* has been sometimes erroneously translated) by the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter, in obedience to the decree of a London council. This abbot added thirty friars, made three journies to Rome, offended the pope, was publicly rebuked by him, and died of grief in 1245. In 1246 William de Hotot, or Hotoft, became abbot, but resigned, and was succeeded in 1249 by John de Caleto, or Calceto, a Norman relative of the queen. This was a jolly prelate, who gave a gallon of wine every day to the prior who celebrated high mass, another to the president in the refectory, half a gallon to all the other members of the confraternity, and

* Mr. S. Carte, Archaiolog. v. 10, intimates that Peterburgh was without a font till the Reformation; but it is not hence to be inferred that no children were baptized in the Abbey church. The ceremonies of papal baptism, using oil, &c. make fonts inconvenient; neither are they necessary, as the numerous holy-water pots at every entrance-door, which are entirely adopted from the Greek περιῤῥαντήριον in pagan temples, answer this purpose. The manner of using and virtues of the papal holy-water are precisely the same as those of the ancient idolaters. Many other remains of paganism still prevail in the church of Rome, which Middleton has not noticed in his admirable letter on that subject.

† Governor Pownal (Archaiolog. vol. ix.) considers this wainscot-painting coeval with the original building in 1177, or 1199. It consists of three compartments running the whole length of the nave, and divided into lozenges and half lozenges; the fillets, mouldings, and rosetts were gilt; an antique fret runs round the pannels as a border, and on the centre are the painted figures. Among these paintings were the arms of the Luttrels, three otters, from their French name *loutre*, a bad bust of Janus, the paschal lamb, an emblematic figure of a monkey carrying an owl on its paw, and riding on a goat with its face to the tail, characteristic of human degeneracy, pride, lust, and infamy. The figures of St. Paul, a nobleman wearing his cornuet, a crowned female, and several mitred persons, were probably designed for benefactors of the Abbey. The woman riding in a self-moved cart has suggested the opinion, that as Janus at the east may represent the commencement of the year, so this figure holding the moon in her left hand may be the harvest dame. The hand bearing the moon is muffled in the drapery, the other hand and arm are bare. Besides these figures, there were minstrels, angels, musicians, dulcimers, guitars, violins, ass and lyre, caricatures, &c. most of which are now scarcely discernible.

(m)

a great bell * to the church, on which was inscribed "*Jon de Caux, Abbas—Oswaldo consecrat hoc vas.*" The friars again becoming effeminate, obtained from pope Innocent the indulgence of performing the service with their hoods on their heads, in consequence of the cold. This abbot officiated as a judge on the circuit in 1254, and in the fourth of Henry III. was made lord high treasurer. He is the reputed author of the MS. chronicle of John, abbot of Burgh, but it must have been continued by another hand till 1368. Caleto died in 1262, and was buried in the south aisle of the choir †. Robert de Sutton, the next abbot, paid upwards of 4000*l.* in fines to the king and his nobles. In 1274, Richard de London, a native of St. Pancras parish, became abbot; when sacristan he erected one of the west towers, and placed two bells in it, which were called *les Londres*. As the south-west tower is now covered with slates, and much lower than the north-west, it has been hastily concluded that it was never finished; but in 1539 the king's commissioners state in their inventory, "in the *two* steeples of the monastery at the front, bells 10." Hence it is certain that the south-west steeple must have been taken down. The erection of the west front, that is, the towers, three Gothic arches between these towers, and the piazza or porch, from this circumstance, has been ascertained to be prior to 1274. Within each of the two towers is a winding stair to the roof of the piazza, where advancing eastward, the belfry is entered. Now as the belfry was erected by Richard when sacristan, the whole west front must have been finished before he became abbot. Above the three superb Gothic arches in this front, the centre one of which being the smallest, are three statues of larger dimensions than the rest. That in the middle is St. Peter, holding a key in his left hand, St. Paul on one side and St. Andrew on another. The principal columns ‡ in these arches, are in complete relief. The entrance door from the porch to the church consists of two pointed arches, and on the base of the centre column are carved several grotesque figures of fallen angels, some of them rather ludicrous. During the abbacy of Richard, the

* Bells were introduced into churches in 458, under pope Leo I. and three years after Scripture-pieces of paintings on their walls.

† The cloak of this abbot was found in a stone coffin, not many years ago, when the church was new paved, and when several tombs were removed, a list of which is preserved in the Cathedral. The cloak is very elegantly embroidered with fleur-de-lis, glorioæ, or rays of divine light, a madona in the centre, and bordered with figures of saints under double niches. It is now nailed to the wall behind the altar, near the monumental stone erected in 870 to the murdered friars.

‡ It is justly observed by the accurate Wilkins (Archaiolog. v. 12), that in our Saxon or English architecture the capital of one column does not resemble that of another, although the proportion is the same the ornaments are different; and in many not only the capitals but the columns and piers differ materially. This proves the fertile genius of our ancestors. We may likewise remark, that the columns in the north aisle of this Cathedral exhibit such variety, and also approximations to horns and volutes, some of which are reversed, but all indicating their antiquity and their natural descent from the Ionic and Grecian style of architecture. Those who are fond of contemplating the supposed ignorance of the English during the heptarchy and monarchy, particularly of the Greek language, should consult the learned and ingenious Whitaker's Life of St. Neot, Alfred's Brother, pp. 84, 5, &c. Whitaker however was very little acquainted with the habits and manners of monks and friars.

prior William Parys built the chapel of the Virgin, called the Lady's chapel; but its position and dimensions cannot be correctly ascertained.

In 1296 William of Woodford, who pleaded at the assizes, became abbot; and in 1299, Godfrey of Croyland, who made a pastoral staff, the only one ever possessed by the abbots, of gold and silver, surmounted with an image of the Trinity. This abbot was a great builder, and spent 3646*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* equal to 50,000*l.* present currency, in church ornaments, lands, and houses, which he gave to the Abbey. The simple Adam Boothby became abbot in 1321. Henry of Morcot (who was the first abbot carried on the friars' shoulders during *Te Deum* from the great altar to the pulpit) in 1338. Robert Ramsey in 1346. Henry of Overton (who was relieved by Spencer, bishop of Norwich, from the rebellious attack of Jack Straw, when the clergy were taxed, every mitred abbot paying, as an earl, six marks) in 1361. And the parsimonious Nicholas de Elnestow (whose table and household cost only seventy-nine pounds a year) in 1391. William Genge was elected abbot in 1396, and is generally reputed the first mitred abbot of Burgh. It appears, however, that the abbot of Burgh St. Peter was summoned to the parliament held at Winchester in the fourth of Edward III. and this abbot was not elected till the twentieth of Richard II *. Genge assisted the citizens of Peterburgh to build a new parish church. John Deping or Deeping was made abbot in 1408: during his presidency the friars were summoned to appear in Westminster to answer several charges of abuse, corruption, and licentiousness, when these worthy men very frankly promised to reform. Richard Ashton became abbot in 1438. In consequence probably of intemperance thirty-two out of sixty-four friars died during his time, so that a sufficient number of friars could not be found to perform the service according to the ordinances in force, and some things were necessarily omitted;—so numerous were the festivals, commemorations, and masses for the souls of the deceased in purgatory in those days. In 1471 Ashton resigned, and was succeeded by William Ramsey, who purchased the brass standard and spread eagle on which the Bible now lies for reading the Lessons. Such was the degraded state to which the chief of this Abbey, and doubtless his whole confraternity, had fallen, that in 1480 he accepted a bribe of 40*s.* to release a criminal from Peterburgh gaol charged with felony. For this, he was tried, convicted, and obliged to find six sureties for his future good behaviour. Robert Kirton,

* In the 9th Edw. II. the abbot of Burgh was certified to be lord of Peterburgh, and its dependencies. Before the Norman despotism they were virtually temporal princes, paying homage only to their liege sovereigns.

originally a friar, was elected abbot in 1496. To this abbot Gunton ascribes the erection of what is still called the *New Building* (see Pl. 4); but without sufficient reason, as there is internal evidence of its being the work of Ashton *, and probably finished or "beautified" by Kirton. He built "a chamber in his dwelling house, calling it *Hevyn* or *Heaven-gate* chamber," which still retains this name, and now forms part of the bishop's palace † (see Pl. 7). Kirton was particularly fond of hieroglyphics, and he covered all his works with the letter R. and a kirk or church placed over a tun, for *Kirk-ton*. The rapidly increasing depravity and licentousness of the friars seemed to invite their dispersion. About this time numerous complaints were made to the bishop of Lincoln that the friars frequented taverns near the Abbey, followed lewd women, and often danced in the dormitory till ten or eleven o'clock at night, to the great annoyance of the more peaceful inhabitants. Charges were also made against one John Wallpeol, a friar, who had stolen some jewels, out of St. Oswald's shrine, and given them to women of the town. Abbot Kirton died in 1528, and was succeeded by John Chambers, the forty-fifth and last abbot, and first bishop of Peterburgh.

We have now reached the period of the Reformation. That Cenobitic institutions were useful to learning and religion in barbarous ages must be generally admitted; that they are injurious to both in more enlightened times all must allow. Henry VIII. has been ranked among innovators rather than reformers; his vices no doubt were conspicuous, yet, like many controversialists, conviction flashed upon him at the very moment he was attempting to defend the errors of papal Rome. His contest with the pope was the result of scepticism, although censoriously alleged to originate in his appetites. Respect,

* Above the two most easterly windows on the outside wall, are the letters R. A. (Ric. Ashton); and over the middle window, are the letters ASHTON. None of Kirton's favourite ornaments appear. Ashton made *corrodies* (deductions from the salary) of many persons.

† As we have ventured to differ in opinion from all the historians of this cathedral, respecting the period of its erection, it is proper that we should here give a summary of the generally received opinions on this subject, according to one of the most judicious writers. "1. That part of the cathedral extending westward from the circular east end to the lantern, was begun in 1117, and finished in 1143; 2. the cross aisles were built between 1155 and 1175; 3. between 1177 and 1193 the nave was built from the lantern to the end of the two rows of pillars and side aisles. 4. About 1128, the space beyond the pillars and the side aisles, and ending at the three front doors, was covered in; 5. about 1274, a steeple or belfry was erected on the arched roof of this space. 6. The school-house and gate fronting the market-place were finished at the close of the twelfth century. 7. The infirmary for friars who had passed their jubilee year as cenobites, was built in the thirteenth century; and the bishop's gate-house in the fourteenth, and heaven-gate-chamber, bishop's palace, in the sixteenth." Such are the periods at which historians say the various parts of this edifice were built. The following are its DIMENSIONS: "1. Breadth of west front outside corner to corner, 156 feet; 2. length of cathedral outside including buttresses at both ends, 471 feet; 3. distance from the inside of west door till the painted screen, (pl. 8), entrance of the choir, 267 feet; 4. from this screen to the oak one behind the altar table, 117 feet; 5. from altar table to east window, 38, making 422 feet from the west door to the east window; 6. length of cross aisles or transepts, including the diameter of lantern, 180 feet; 7. breadth of nave from south to north wall, 78 feet, just half the breadth of the west front; 8. painted wooden ceiling is 81 feet high; 9. inside of the lantern 135, outside 150 feet high; 10. height of each Gothic arch, west front, 82 feet; and 11. height of each pinnacle at the corners of the west front 156 feet, that is, equal to the breadth of this front."

it is said, for the memory of Catherine, who was buried in Peterburgh, induced him to spare this Abbey, and to grant his letters patent in 1541 for its conversion into a city †, appointing it a bishop, a dean, and six prebendaries, and extending its jurisdiction over the county of Norththampton. If such were his feelings, they could not exist in a mind so desperately depraved, as it has long been the fashion to consider that of Henry VIII.

The history of Peterburgh from the Reformation presents little novelty except the gratifying view of reformed moral character. Since that epoch it has had twenty-one bishops and thirty-one deans; men, whose piety, learning, and beneficence ‡, furnish a brilliant fore-ground to the dark picture which truth compels us to display of the abbots and friars.

† It is remarked, that Peterburgh is the only city in England without a mayor and aldermen, and Ely the only one without representatives in parliament. Notwithstanding this well-known fact, we read in the Encyclopædia Britannica, art. Pet. that "the city is governed by a mayor, recorder, and aldermen." In Capper's Topographical Dictionary of the United Kingdom, we are told, "the city is governed by a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and eight common council." For this, Bridges' Northamptonshire is quoted, where the direct contrary is explicitly stated. In Peterburgh there are no other civil authorities than simple magistrates, of whom there are seven, and bailiffs to the lords of the manor, &c. Henry VIII. granted divers privileges and immunities to the bishop, dean, and chapter of Peterburgh, which were confirmed in the 3d Eliza. such as exempting themselves and tenants from the payment of all tolls, customs in fairs, passages of bridges, &c. throughout the kingdom. These privileges of free passage have acquired the epithet *non molestandum*, and been enjoyed by many tenants of the chapter; should any one attempt to violate them, he incurs a penalty of 10*l*.

‡ One instance of the generous liberality of this see, from an unimpeachable authority, will suffice: "In this county there are scarcely any lands held by tenants under leases, except those granted by the bishop, dean, and chapter of Peterburgh, which are for twenty-one years, renewable every seven."—Pitt's Agric. Northampt.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1. The West Front, shewing the three lofty pointed Arches of the Porch.---This front is flanked on each side by an elegant tower with pinnacles. It is worthy of remark, that the three grand arches deviate considerably from a perpendicular.

Plate 2. The North-west, or Bell Tower, with the North Aisle of the Nave.---This tower had a corresponding one on the south-west, which it is intended to rebuild.

Plate 3. Represents the Cathedral from the New Building on the East, to the North-west Tower, the North Transept forming a striking Feature in the View.---In the centre appears the lantern, or great tower; at the corners turrets have recently been erected, which would have been an essential ornament to the building had they been formed upon the more proportionate model of those upon the transepts.

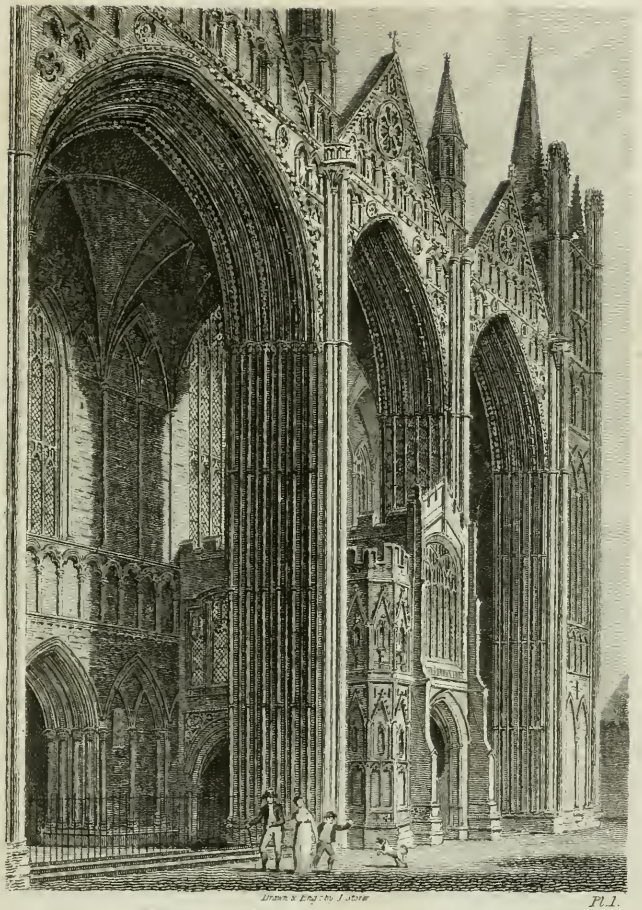
Plate 4. The East End.---This forms a pyramidal mass rising in three grand divisions: viz. the "New Building," the circular end of the choir, and the central tower. This View was taken from the garden of Samuel Wells, esq.

Plate 5. The South Transept, seen through one of the arches which compose two rows near the residentiary houses of the prebendaries; these arches are supposed to be the remains of the refectory.

Plate 6. The Cloisters.---These appendages to the Cathedral are completely demolished excepting five arches, four of which are seen in the Plate. The walls are finely tinted by time, and overgrown in a most beautiful and picturesque manner.

Plate 7. The Bishop's Palace.---In this View are seen the two oriels of the heaven-gate chamber, built by abbot Kirton. The small round porch on the right leads to a magnificent hall. Although the exterior of the mansion displays nothing very imposing, the interior has many noble apartments, fitted up in the most splendid style: the dining parlour contains a number of choice pictures by the best masters.

Plate 8 Is an Interior View, shewing Part of the Nave, three of the Arches which support the lantern, with part of the South Transept.---A richly-carved screen forms the entrance to the choir, above which is the organ; the latter was omitted in the View, as it obstructed the prospect through the choir.



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Pl. 1.

West end of Peterborough Cathedral.

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Pl. 2

N.W. Tower of Peterborough Cathedral

Published Dec.r 1814 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row.

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Pl. 3

N.E. View of Peterborough Cathedral

Published Dec.r 1812 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row.

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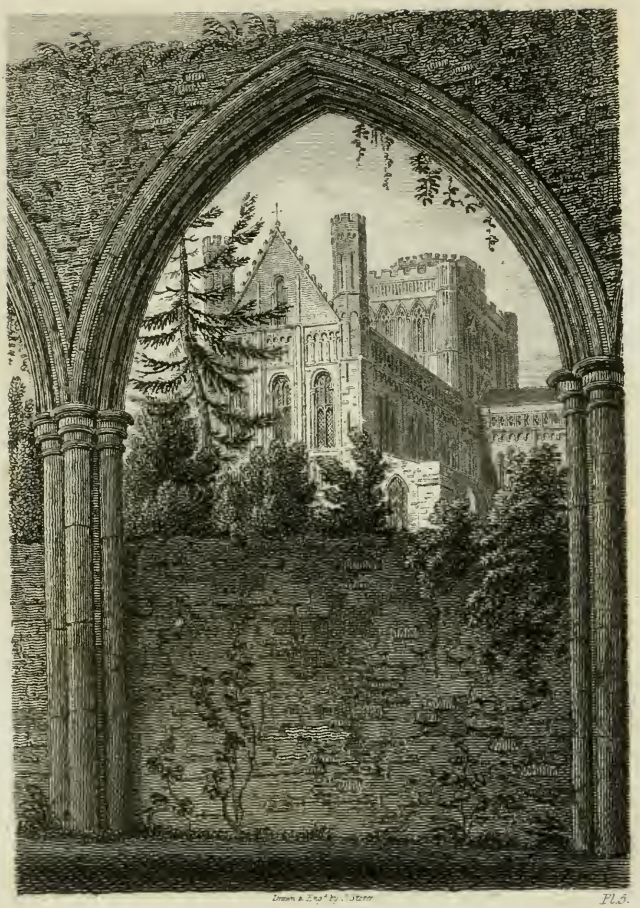
Pl 4.

East end of Peterborough Cathedral

Published Dec 1 1814 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row



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Pl. 5.

S. Transept Peterborough Cathedral.

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Pl. 6

The Cloisters, Peterborough Cathedral

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Pl. 7.

The Bishop's Palace Peterborough

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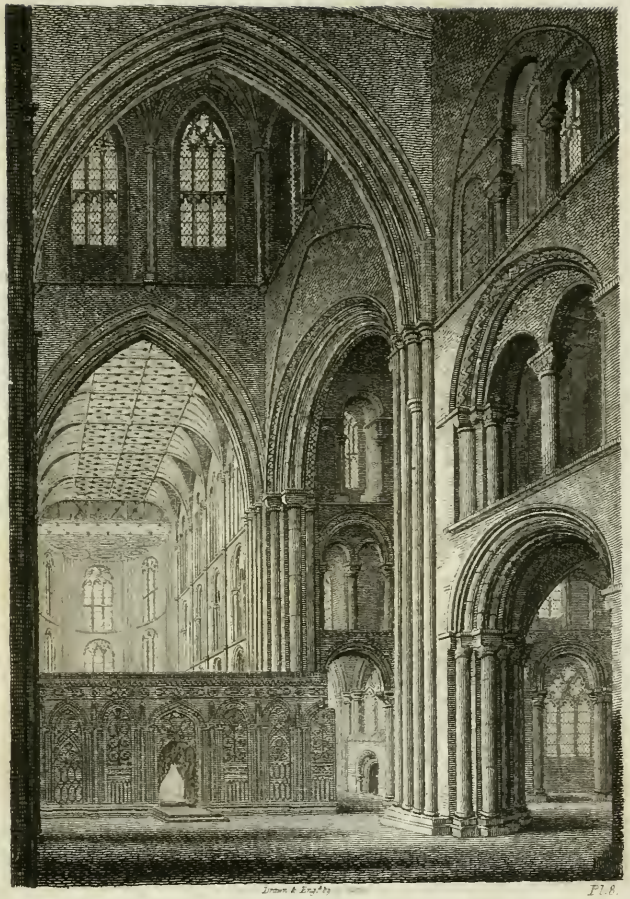


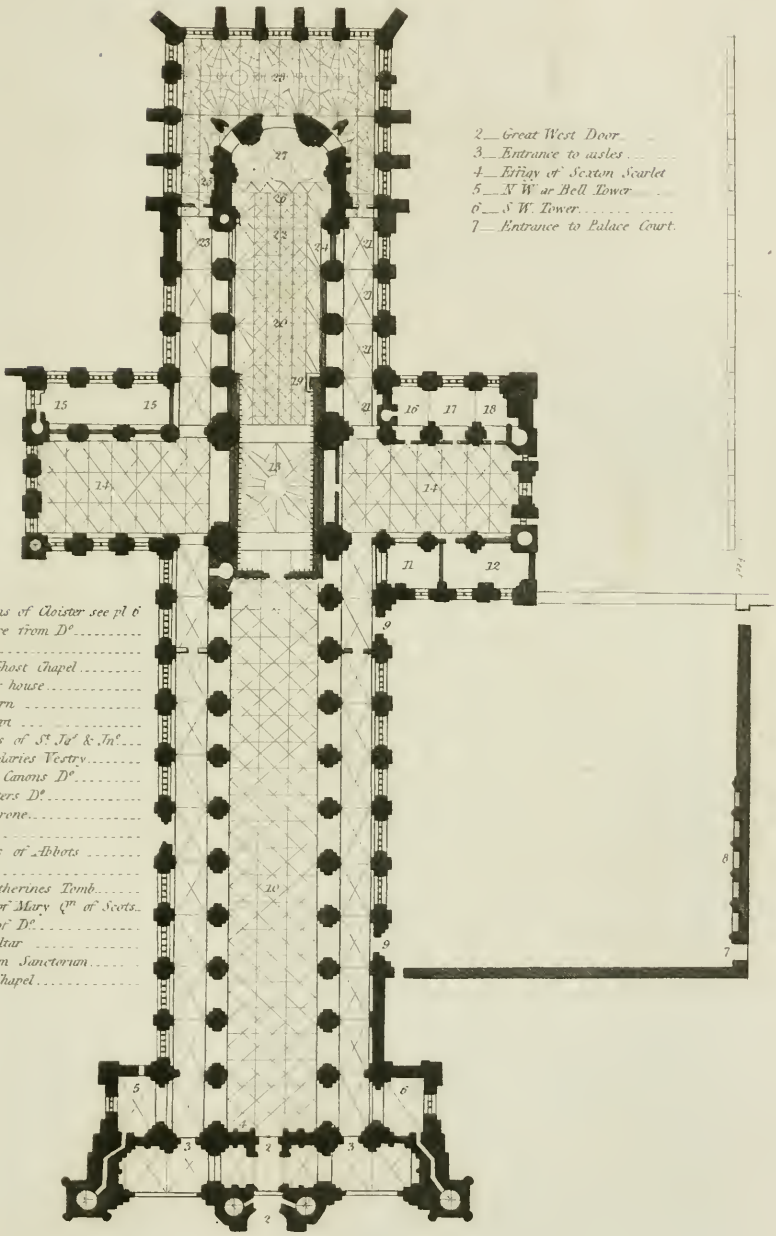
Drawn & Engd by P.I.B.

Part of the Nave & Choir Peterborough Cathedral.

Publ. had Longman & Co by Harwood, Piddy & Gale Paternoster Row

PETERBURGH CATHEDRAL,

Shewing the groining of the Roof



Drawn J Hardwick

Published ... 1813 by ... Neele & Son

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH

OF

Winchester.

THERE are perhaps no authentic records of Christian temples existing in any part of Britain earlier than at Winchester. Christianity, indeed, appears to have been promulgated in this country above a century before the building of a church at *Caer-Gwent*, or White City, the British appellation of the modern Winchester*. But no satisfactory, circumstantial, or contingent evidence can be adduced to disprove the tradition of a Christian church being founded here by a person called Lucius, about A.D. 180. The statement does not rest on such prejudiced authority as the compilers of Roman Catholic legends, called a Martyrology, but on the broad basis of a generally admitted fact, which is received rather as probable than as undeniable. To reject it entirely as fabulous would betray more of the pride of scepticism than the love of truth; to make it an article of religious belief might be compatible with Mohammedan superstition, but certainly not with the rationality of Christian piety. The possibility and probability of the fact, in the present case, are fully sufficient. A Christian cannot be displeased with the idea of his religion extending so early and so far west, still less a Briton at the erection of a church in his country. That there was a British tributary prince, named Lucius, we may safely believe; that he openly embraced Christianity under the tolerant auspices of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, seems not inconsistent with historical truth and the state of Britain, notwithstanding the indiscriminate negation of Carte †; but whether he was the son or grandson of the person called Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus or Cogidunus, or Caractacus alias Arviragus, it is superfluous here to inquire. If he was

* The oldest writers call it *Caer Gwent* or *Guent*, which Ptolemy seems to have adopted in Ο'υεντα. and the Romans in *Venta Belgarum*. The monks afterwards wrote it *Wintonia*, and the Saxons, who produced the greatest change in every thing, wrote it *Wintan-ceaster*, and subsequently Wintancestir, Wintceaster, Wincester, and Winchester.

† Both Carte and Gibbon seem to have formed their opinions on this subject, without taking the trouble of investigating the original authorities; the latter indeed evinced a motive for disbelieving it; but the assertions or opinions of such men on a point of history, where sound judgment is necessary, pass for nought, when they are directly contradicted by such true philosophers as Usher, Stillingfleet, and Burgess.

born about 115, possibly he derived some knowledge of the Christian religion from the disciples of St. Paul. When advanced in life, it is said he and his queen were baptized by two Roman missionaries, Fugatius and Damianus or Duvianus *. In this country, the Christian religion had not been so formidable to the Roman government as to induce its persecution; Lucius, therefore, availing himself of the peaceful character of the Antonines, might safely indulge his pious feelings by raising a respectable edifice for public worship in the Roman *Venta*, now Winchester. He has accordingly been considered as the first monarch who embraced Christianity, and built a church for its profession. To assert, however, that he founded twenty-eight churches in as many different cities then extant in Britain, and forming the chief seats of the Flamines, or pagan priests, seems an unnecessary experiment on human credulity. It tends only to awaken scepticism respecting the more probable and better authenticated fact, that he raised in Venta a Christian church from the ground, although *not* "upon a scale of grandeur and magnificence which has never since been equalled;" nor did he "bestow on it the right of sanctuary, and other privileges †." The building or existence of the church, which afterwards became a bishop's see, is the sole unequivocal fact. Rudborne's statement of his annexing to it a monastery, with a chapel, dormitory, and refectory, for monks, long before such societies were either practicable or instituted, is rejected even by Dr. Milner himself, as incredible, false, and absurd. It is difficult also to attach much credit to his account of the church's dimensions, and still more so to its figure. According to this writer, the church built by Lucius was in the form of a crucifix, 209 paces (at least 600 feet) long, eighty broad, ninety-two high, and the transept 180 paces long. These proportions are neither compatible with the Grecian style of architecture which then prevailed, nor with that which has since been called Gothic. This circumstance, indeed, may favour the veracity of the historian, as tending to show that his statements are not merely theoretical or imaginary probabilities ‡. It is however in the highest degree improbable, that Lucius

* Perhaps the latter name has been preferred in consequence of that of Damian, a notorious robber, appearing in the papal pantheon, and still worshipped on the 27th of September.

† This is asserted by Thomas Rudborne, a Winchester monk of the fifteenth century, who, with Westminster Matthew, asserts that Lucius conferred the privileges of Dunwallo Malmutius (a pagan, supposed to live 500 years before Christ), or the right of asylum on the church of Winchester. The absurdity of these pagan privileges, and the utter incredibility of the whole tale of indulging churches and cemeteries with the right of sanctuary or asylum, have been sufficiently exposed by sir H. Spelman, Mr. W. Clarke, and by Dr. Pegge, Archaeol. vol. iii. As to the privilege of sanctuary, it was instituted by pope Boniface V. about 622, the epoch of Mohammed, and was an institution worthy of such an impostor.

‡ If these innocent conjectures, which are here adduced only to convey an idea how Roman Catholic writers make out a connected history of their church, were of any importance, we should say that the British prince, if such a one ever existed, in building a church, erected

at the same time erected an edifice for the clergy nearly 600 feet long and 120 broad; neither the number nor wealth of the Christian teachers of that period, and still less their austere principles, will admit of their having such a splendid dwelling. This also is equally irreconcilable with the fact, that temples of Apollo and of Concord were situated immediately contiguous to the cathedral, which was dedicated to the Saviour by Fugatius and Duvianus. These missionaries, it is said, were sent at the request of Lucius, by the Roman bishop Eleutherius, and they consecrated a bishop for this church, called Dinotus or Devotus. However this may be, there cannot be a doubt that the religious edifice or structure then raised in Venta formed the model for all the subsequent buildings during the days of the Saxons, and that a rude imitation of the Roman * pillars and circular arches still appears in the transept of the existing cathedral. This is the true origin of the *opus Romanum* or that style of building denominated Saxon, and by some superficial writers, Norman †.

In attributing the consecration of this cathedral to Romish missionaries, it has been wished to infer hence that the see of Rome had always spiritual authority over Britain, and that Eleutherius by this act obtained the same power over Winchester, which his successors claimed a thousand years later. The very contrary, however, is the fact; and whatever might be the state of religious knowledge in this country during the life of Lucius, even bishop Milner is constrained to admit, that "it seemed best to him and his prelates (without any reference to the bishop of Rome), that the same hierarchy should be observed, which had before obtained among the Flamines, or heathen priests. According to this, London, York, and Caerleon, became metropolitan sees; and hence Venta, although the favourite of Lucius, and probably

a palace for himself also, and that both structures are included in the dimensions given by the monkish chroniclers: otherwise the whole must be a contemptible fabrication; for no Christian church could then be built of greater extent than the heathen temples; and it is well observed by an enlightened critic (Quarterly Rev. No. 6.), that "in provincial cities they were mere chapels in their dimensions, but of exquisite proportions and highly adorned, like the Maison Quarree at Nimes."

* "When the Romans," observes governor Pownall, "held possession of our isle, they erected every sort of building and edifice of stone, or of a mixture of stone and brick, and universally built with the circular arch. The British learned their arts from these masters, and they were practised in Britain after they had been lost in France, by the ravages and desolation which the continent experienced. When the cities of the empire in Gaul and the fortresses on the Rhine were destroyed, Constantius Chlorus, A. D. 293, sent to Britain, and employed British architects in repairing and re-edifying them. By thus drawing off the British architects and mechanics, and by the subsequent devastation of the island, all use and practice of the Roman art were lost," Archaeol, ix.—As the Scots and Picts contributed to the expulsion of the Romans, so also did they introduce a less expensive mode of building in wood: *more Scotorum non de lapide, sed de robore.* King, Munimenta Antiq. has adduced more particulars in proof of the generally received opinion, that the arts of building, like religion, have travelled from the east to the west. See Haggit's Essay on Gothic Architect. in answer to Milner.

† It is unanimously admitted, that the only difference between the Saxon and Norman buildings consists in their dimensions, the latter being of greater magnitude than the former; but this cannot be called a style or new invention.

the capital* of his dominions, was left destitute of that pre-eminence to which, as the chief city in the west, it was otherwise entitled."

Venta, it appears, enjoyed its religion and repose above a century, till the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian † about 303, brought destruction to the cathedral and death on its ministers. Happily their sanguinary rage existed only two years, till checked by Constantius Chlorus; and the famous edict of Constantine the ‡ Great in 312 restored the professors of Christianity to the enjoyment of all the rights of humanity and civil justice. The cathedral of Venta was then (with the contributions of the pious) rebuilt, but on a much smaller scale, according to Milner, about 313, and said to be dedicated to the imaginary St. Amphiballus. Most probably it was only defaced by the Maximian destroyers, and not levelled to the ground. The task of demolition would have been arduous; that of reparation appears to have occupied five years §. Between the period of its first erection and reconstruction a great decay of art had taken place; the Gothic age was advancing, and both wealth and science had yielded on the one hand to brutal ferocity, and on the other to the most passive and enthusiastic piety. In this condition of things it is not to be expected that Venta experienced much improvement, till it finally fell under the barbarous Jutes || about 516, when its cathedral was converted into a

* It is still matter of controversy where the dominions of Lucius were situated; the weight of probability seems in favour of Winchester; but as to the time and place of his death and burial nothing is accurately known, except that he is not buried in his cathedral. Some suppose him interred at Gloucester, others at York; and the Germans, with considerable plausibility, represent him as propagating the gospel in Bavaria and Switzerland. With him however terminated his dynasty, as the Romans afterwards governed directly by their own officers, and not by native tributary princes.

† Even Gibbon, with all his zeal to blacken the character and conduct of the Christians and exalt that of the Romans, is obliged to admit that Maximian was an ignorant, illiterate, savage, and superstitious military boor. See Roman Emp. c. xvi.

‡ It is worthy of remark, as a proof at least of original intellectual superiority (for the infidels will not deny that Christianity is more rational and philosophical than the gods of Greece and Rome), that the first Christian king and first Christian Emperor were both Britons.

§ The story of its being dedicated by bishop Constans, son of the emperor Constantine, to a St. Amphiballus, martyr, Deodatus being the superior of the clergy, who then served the cathedral, seems a mere tissue of monkish conjectures, unsupported by any authentic record, and unworthy of attention. *An amphiballus* is a large cloak or mantle, like a monk's surplice, encompassing the body on both sides; such were the sheep skins which the monks or hermits originally wore as an outside dress, and which were called *superpelliceum*. Hence this coarse piece of clothing has been metamorphosed, like the sepulchre of Christ, into a saint, made the converter of a man called St. Alban, and has also been honoured by having the dedication of Winchester cathedral ascribed to it. Surely it is full time that such fables were banished from the ecclesiastical history of Britain. "Certain it is," avows the papal bishop Milner, "that some martyrs, whose names were unknown, have been inserted in the calendar by a name drawn from some adventitious circumstance, as for example, St. Adauctus. See Martyrol. Rom." If then an infallible church and its infallible councils can thus multiply the number of its Gods, thus fabricate names for its unknown saints, is it surprising that rational men should reject the whole papal system as a cunningly devised imposture, a disgraceful and unchristian perversion of religious truth?

‖ It seems most probable as the Jutes peopled Kent and the Isle of Wight, that they also took possession of Venta, which they called *Wintan*, with the usual addition of *ceaster*. This must be inferred from Bede, who lived at a period so near the invasion, that he could scarcely be misled on the subject. The Jutes or Jutlanders, were also called *Giotti*, and *Vitæ*, whence

temple for the preposterous rites of Woden, Thor, and Friga. In this state it remained till restored to its original destination by Kinigils, after this Saxon Monarch's conversion to Christianity. The propagation of religion among the West Saxons has been attributed to a St. Birinus*, a man of uncertain origin, and still more dubious works. He is represented as converting the joint-kings Kinigils and Quinthelin in 635, and from them obtaining the rank of a bishop at Dorchester in 636. Birinus we have before noticed in the history of Lincoln Cathedral, p. *(d)*. Kinigils is represented as taking down, with more fanaticism than prudence, the original church of Winchester, because it had been polluted with the exercise of pagan rites, in order to raise up a virgin one in its place. He died however before commencing his new building, a circumstance rather surprising, since the miracle-working Birinus might have either kept him alive or raised him from the dead, to build his church, and not trust this sacred duty to the word of his pagan son. Cenowalch violated his promise to his dying father, and thought no more of building, till another miracle awake-

the appellations *Vuti* and *Gevissi*, Winchester being the capital of the latter. An observer can still recognize a difference between the people of Kent and the other parts of England. "The Jutes," says Milner (in a felicitous conjecture, which atones for the want of historical fidelity), "having retained their original name of Getæ or Goths (conducted by Woden from the Palus Mæotis to the shores of the Baltic), were the chief and most respectable of the three kindred tribes (Angles, Saxons, and Jutes) who invaded Britain. It is probable also, from their having penetrated farther north than the others, that they were the most valiant; and that they were the most handsome is generally allowed by those who have seen their descendants in the Isle of Wight, where they have remained in a great measure undisturbed and unmixed."

* The tale of Birinus is so ludicrously absurd, and at the same time so well calculated to weaken the strong holds of superstition, that Dr Milner's version of it merits insertion here. Birinus, a priest or a monk, or a something we know not what, was directed by pope Honorius to be ordained by Asterius, bishop of Genoa, and perhaps to learn Saxon in that city preparatory for his mission to Britain. "Proceeding from Genoa, through France, our apostle came to the sea-port in the channel, from which he was to embark for our island. Here having performed the sacred mysteries, he left behind him what is called a corporal [in allusion to the body of Christ], containing the blessed sacrament; which he did not recollect until the vessel in which he sailed was some way out at sea. It was in vain to argue the case with the pagan sailors who steered the ship, and it was impossible for him to leave his treasure behind him. In this extremity, supported by a strong faith, he stepped out of the ship upon the waters, which *became firm under his feet* [congealed into ice, we suppose, by another miracle far surpassing that of the Saviour], and walked in this manner to the land; having secured what he was anxious about, he returned in the same manner on board the vessel, which had *remained stationary* [by the *solidity* of the water doubtless!] in the place where he left it. The ship's crew were of the nation to which he was sent, and being struck [as well they might] with the miracle which they had witnessed, lent a docile ear to his instruction. Thus our apostle began the conversion of the West Saxons before he landed upon their territory. This prodigy is so well attested by the most judicious historians [i. e. monkish compilers of holy legends], that those who have had the greatest interest to deny it, have *not dared openly to do so*." Hist. Winchest. vol. i. p. 90. The concluding assertion is singularly bold and fanatical. The persons alluded to as not *daring* to deny it, are bishop Godwin and the truth-telling Fox; the former takes no notice whatever of this compound miracle, wisely judging it beneath contempt; and the latter bestows on it the only correct appellation in our language, that of a *lie*. We sincerely pity the man who could record such absurdities, which no real Christian can conscientiously endure, and no man of common sense believe. "What lover of truth," justly observes the Quarterly Reviewer, No. 6, "can forbear to exclaim against the fetters imposed on intellect itself by a Roman Catholic education, which have completely disqualified a man of vigorous understanding from distinguishing between the testimony of an evangelist and that of a monk of the twelfth century!" See this story admirably told in "A New Defence of the Holy Roman Church," by the author of "Horæ Solitariæ," the late worthy A. Serle, esq.

ned him to a sense of his duty. Pope Gregory had recommended the conversion of heathen temples into churches, but Cenowalch thought it more noble to raise a new and more splendid edifice; and, as usual with the monkish historians, they record his having prepared most comfortable cells for them and their helpmates. The building finished, says Milner, "*our apostle* St. Birinus came to our city and dedicated this famous seat of his successors in the name of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year of our Lord 548* (648)." Winchester however did not immediately become the see; Birinus returned to Dorchester, where he died, and was succeeded by Agilbert, a Frenchman, we are told, educated in Ireland. This bishop, although he has received the papal apotheosis, was not esteemed by Cenowalch, because he could not speak Saxon† in a manner to be useful as a teacher. His majesty, therefore, very properly resolved to find a remedy for this defect, and divided the diocess of Dorchester into two, allowing the weak Agilbert to remain in the original see, and had Wina, an Englishman of great talents, consecrated bishop of Winchester. Agilbert, with more of the haughtiness of political power, than the meekness of Christian benevolence, was greatly enraged at this reflection on his talents, and without regarding the interests of religion, insolently resigned his episcopal charge, and returned to France. For this vindictive pride and treason to the cause of religion, he has since been enrolled among the gods of modern Rome. By his democratic intrigues, however, he effected the resignation of Wina, who is called by Milner an "unworthy prelate," for no other reason than because he was an Englishman, and perhaps evinced little disposition to yield obedience to any foreign power, to any thing but his God and his king. He was translated to the see of London, and that of Winchester remained vacant four years, till Agilbert succeeded in fixing his nephew Eleutherius in that chair.

This French bishop was succeeded by Hedda, an illiterate man, according to Bede, who substituted superstition for learning and piety, and who removed the corpse of Birinus‡ from Dorchester to Winchester, and with it his episcopal chair, about 676. This was the fifth bishop of Dor-

* This date 548 occurs in the author's first volume, p. 95, and vol. ii. p. 5, although it is evidently wrong, and should be 648. In vol. i. p. 99, Cenowalch, or Kenewalk, is represented as dying in 674. There are many other chronological errors and inconsistencies in Milner's history, which the limits of this work do not admit of particularizing. In nearly the same pages it is stated in the first volume that Kinegils begun rebuilding the cathedral; in the second it is asserted that he died when he had only collected the materials for it. Cenowalch is also supposed to have derived much architectural aid from the famous abbot, St. Bennet Biscop, his friend, who brought skilful masons, glaziers, and artificers from Italy and France.

† Milner supposes, after Verstegan, that the Saxons and French at that period spoke dialects of the same language; but the editor of the Hampshire Repository has refuted this position.

‡ In the Hist. and Antiq. of Winchester, 2 vols. 12mo, attributed to the Rev. Mr. Wavel, it is stated that Hedda removed the body of Birinus to Winchester in 673, previous to the see being removed thither. See History of Lincoln Cathedral, p. (c).

chester and Winchester and the fourth prelate belonging to these sees that has been deified. He was succeeded in 703 by the learned Daniel, the historian of the South Saxons, and of the Isle of Wight. To him has also been ascribed the memoirs of a wonder-working person called St. Chad. During the prelateship of Daniel, the see of Chichester was taken from that of Winchester, to meet the spiritual exigencies of extended Christianity and increased population. In 741 or 744 he resigned his charge, in consequence probably of old age. Humfred was his successor ten years; Kinebard was bishop twenty-six, and was followed by Athelard, who was translated to Canterbury. About 790 Egbald was consecrated bishop, but dying shortly after, Dudda, Kenebirth, Almund, and Wigthen or Wighten, successively filled this see till 829. Herefrith or Herefrid was the next bishop; he was slain by the Danes when attending king Egbert at the battle of Charmouth, about 833. Edmund, Helmstan, and king Ethelwolf were the succeeding bishops, till the latter ascended the regal throne, when the renowned St. Swithin * became the occupant of this chair about 838. Ethelwolf, although a bishop, had children, and resigned the government of Kent, Essex, and Sussex to his illegitimate son Athelstan. Nevertheless he is extolled by bishop Milner as "the good king." He was so fortunate on several occasions as to chastise the temerity of the Danes, and obliged them to direct their marauding expeditions to the coasts of Neustria, which they conquered, when the country was called Normandy, and the people Normans or North-men. From his demise till the invasion of the Normans, the see of Winchester was occupied by seventeen Saxon or English bishops subsequent to Swithin; Adferth or Alfrith, a prelate of great learning, was translated to Canterbury; Dunbert, who died in 879, left lands to repair the cathedral, which was devastated by the Danes, and it is supposed he had the honour of crowning Alfred; Denewulf, the reputed swine-herd †, in whose cottage in Athelney Alfred was concealed; Athelm, who went to Rome; Bertulf, of whom little is known ‡; St. Brithestane or Frithstan,

* Swithin has been aptly called the English god of rain, and he seems to perform the same office as Ὀμβριος did among the Greeks; the Athenians however were much less liberal in this respect than the Roman Catholics, for although they adopted foreign deities, and raised altars to them, yet their worship was not permitted without a public decree, and could not be introduced by individuals (see Acts of Apost. xvii. 18). In the Roman Catholic church many have been introduced without such a legal ceremony. Swithin's nocturnal pedestrian excursions have been aptly compared to those of Numa, who "nocturnæ conciliebat *amiciæ*:" the latter however were not stained with such foul hypocrisy.

† This exaggerated tradition is satisfactorily explained by Whitaker in his Life of St. Neot, p. 244, where he shows that it was a dairy-house to which Alfred fled, accompanied by a chosen band of his assistants. It is probable that the vulgar tale was derived from that of Baucis and Philemon, in the 8th book of the Metamorphoses, as the monks were more familar with Ovid than Horace or Juvenal.

‡ Here Milner involves the subject in questions respecting papal authority, overlooks the existence of Athelm and Bertulf (between 879 and 909), pretends that the see was vacant seven

who resigned in 932, and consecrated St. Brinstan*, another pupil of St. Grimbald†; St. Elfege the bald, uncle to the notorious St. Dunstan, was consecrated in 934; Elfin or Elsin, an ambitious prelate, sought the pall of Canterbury, but was frozen to death in the Alps on his way to Rome to procure it; Anthelm or Brithelm was succeeded by St. Athelwald or Ethelwold‡, like Swithin, he was a native of Winchester, and rebuilt the cathedral, enriched it with subterraneous crypts §, supplied it with water, made several canals, and improved the country; dying in 984, Elfege the martyr was consecrated by Dunstan, and translated to Canterbury in 1006; Kenulf or Elsius, became bishop two years, and was followed by Brithwold || or Ethel-

years, till the holy Roman father becoming quite outrageous, threatened excommunication, when a grand synod was held, new sees erected, and bishops appointed. All this is a pretty flourish in behalf of the pope's supremacy.

* Brinstan, like Swithin, was fond of solitary walks, and often prayed in the churchyard. One night, it is recorded, on finishing his devotions among the tombs, he cried out *requiescant in pace*; when, lo! a great multitude of souls answering all together with one loud voice, ejaculated *Amen*, and awakened all the country round for miles with the sound.

† As to this Grimbald, notwithstanding the ponderous authority of Dr. Milner, and the much more learned and ingenious researches of Whitaker, we must be pardoned for suspecting that he was not a Frenchman, but an Italian singer, destined by Alfred to be precentor in Winchester cathedral. That he never was a professor at Oxford, Whitaker in his St. Neot has placed beyond a douht. But the comprehensive mind of Alfred perceived that the civilization of boors might be accelerated by music as well as the study of languages, and that it was necessary to have a good professor of "sweet sounds," a *cantatorem optimum*; Grimbald was encouraged to settle in Winchester.

‡ "His episcopal chair," Milner gravely states, "long remained an object of popular *veneration* and awe;" it being believed that those who sat in it, if negligent of their duty, were punished with terrific sights, &c. This contemptible superstition is recorded with as much apparent approbation as the unnatural celibacy of the clergy, and the miracles of Dunstan in supporting his celibacy by fire and sword. Hume, Rapin, &c. are censured for denouncing Dunstan's insolence to king Edwy, and the monkish writers are marshalled to prove that it was the king's mistress and not his queen that Dunstan had branded in the face with red hot irons and hamstrung; but if the major part of our historians have erred a little, Dr. Milner errs still farther on the other side, in defending the conduct of a ferocious brute, who could thus treat a woman, for what, at the very worst, in the language of his church, was only a natural, and not a deadly, sin. Even this papal vicar-apostolic himself is obliged to acknowledge that the bishops and monks of that period were sunk in every possible kind of natural and unnatural vice, yet they were not burnt and mutilated like the ill-fated female companion of the king. Nor does he anathematize popes Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. who more than five centuries later filled the churches and religious houses with sixteen of their illegitimate children.

§ Crypts, *Confessiones* or *Martyria* were the burial-place of martyrs. Milner says, "all that remains visible of the work of Ethelwold are the crypts or chapels, the walls, pillars, and groining of which remain in much the same state as that in which he left them, and are executed in a firm and bold, though simple and unadorned manner, which gives no contemptible idea of Saxon art." The chief alterations are a new crypt with pointed arches made under the eastern extremity of the lady chapel, and masses of masonry raised in various parts either as sepulchres, or to support the fabric over them, which in these parts is defective. The entrance into them in the Holy Hole (behind the chapel in rear of the altar), was obstructed by bishop Fox, and another made from the Water Close under the south-east aisle of the building, and near the south-east wall of the transept.

|| It was probably during this bishop's reign that the barbarous murder of the Danes took place, to which king Ethelred was at least privy. The massacre began in Winchester, and there also were those indecent revels, called *hocktide sports*, instituted by Ethelred in memory of the part which the English women had borne in it. Those who were not ferocious enough to kill their inmates, contented themselves by *hockshinning* or *houghing* them, by cutting their hamstrings, and disabling them for war. In this operation the women were particularly active, using scythes, reaping hooks, and every kind of edged instruments. Hence the *hocktide* amusements, still practised in some parts of the country the third Monday after Easter, when women tie men fast in their chairs, from which they are not liberated without some vulgar indignities.

wold till 1015; then Alsimus or Elsinus wore the mitre till 1032 or 1038, when the famous Alwyn * ascended the episcopal throne. He died in 1047, five years before queen Emma, when Stigand became bishop of Winchester; and a few years afterwards also got possession of Canterbury, from which he was deposed as being illegal, about 1070, and died a prisoner in Winchester castle. Thus miserably terminated the life of the last Saxon bishop of this cathedral.

We have now closed the reign of the Saxon church. The sees of England, after the Normans gained the ascendancy, were all filled by foreigners, chiefly Lombards, Provençals, and Italians. The machinery † of popery then triumphed over the spirit of Christianity. Winchester fell into the hands of Walkelin, a chaplain and relation to the Norman William. It was in this city that many of the most grievous political measures were first projected or adopted, such as the curfew bell, and the general inquisition or estimate of all property for the purpose of taxation in the doomsday book or "roll of Winchester." Walkelin, being exalted to the see of Winchester in 1070, was influenced by the same spirit of his countrymen in making every thing Norman; even the very language was to be that of Normandy. In 1079 he commenced rebuilding the cathedral, although it was not quite a century since Ethelwold had rebuilt and dedicated it to St. Swithin. A story is told of his obtaining permission from his cousin, the conqueror, to take as much timber for his building as he could cut and carry away in three days from the wood of Hanepinges, now Hempage. The bishop, with some jesuitical zeal, availed himself of this grant, and assembled as many persons (in 1086) as swept away the whole wood in the time specified. In 1093 his church was finished, and dedicated to St. Swithin on the 15th July; the next day, it is confusedly stated, workmen began to level the old cathedral, "leaving nothing standing at the end of the year, except the high altar and one porch ‡." This

* For a supposed criminal intercourse between this bishop and queen Emma, "the pearl of Normandy," and mother of Edward the Confessor, the widowed queen is reported to have passed the fiery ordeal in this cathedral, walking barefooted over nine red-hot ploughshares placed in a line, without experiencing the smallest injury, or even knowing the precise moment when she was conducted over them by two bishops. This tale is not mentioned by any of the older writers, as Huntingdon, Malmesbury, &c. but by Higden, the polychronicler, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and is altogether unworthy of belief. These miraculous ploughshares were reported to be buried in the west cloister of the cathedral, and no doubt contributed to enrich the monks by the donations of the superstitious.

† It was, says Hume, not till after the eighth century had commenced that any appeals were made to the pope; and even four years after the Norman conquest the foot of a popish legate had not polluted the soil of Britain. The conduct of such intriguers may be inferred from that of Gravina in Spain, in support of the Inquisition and against the laws, even in 1813.

‡ To comprehend the actual works of Walkelin, observes the papal bishop, and reconcile contradictions, it is necessary to admit that Ethelwold's church "had the same limits to the east that the church has had ever since, but that it did not extend so far westward, probably by 150 feet, as Walkelin afterwards built it. Consequently the ancient church, high altar, tower, transept, and habitations of monks were more easterly than afterwards placed." This

is not very consistent with another tradition, namely, that only eight years after completing Walkelin's cathedral, and one after the death of Rufus, "a certain tower in the cathedral fell" and covered this king's tomb with its ruins. The people, strongly impressed with a sense of his vices, interpreted this disaster to indicate the wrath of heaven at his having received Christian burial. No heavy body falling from the present tower could strike this tomb, which is situated between the choir and chancel. This Saxon structure, however, was evidently designed to serve as a lanthorn to the choir, and its elevation contributed to render the place more solemn and impressive; an effect which was greatly impaired by the introduction of screens and partitions.* The transept bears the same Saxon† features of the tower; the chief degradations it has experienced since Walkelin are confined to the windows, which have at different periods been subjected to the caprices of gothic fancy. In some the circular arch and billeted moulding remain, while a pointed window with gothic mullions are inserted beneath them; others have been made to undergo an almost total change, and the catherine-wheel window in the north front has been introduced since the original erection. From this period down to the sixteenth century every bishop and prior sought to earn an apotheosis by rebuilding or refounding (as it has been called) this church. After Walkelin, bishops Giffard (who built a palace in

may be true, but it does not account for the position of the fallen tower, unless it can be proved (which is not altogether improbable), that the west end of the present choir was part of the nave of Ethelwold's building. That some Saxon artists sought security for their enmity to William, by building the transept and tower, under the auspices of Walkelin, seems credible enough. The tower is a noble shaft, 150 feet high (Milner says 140), and one third its height in diameter.

* A more striking instance of the absurdity and pernicious effects of these partitions could not be mentioned than the Grecian work of Inigo Jones, at the west entrance of the choir. To say nothing of the preposterous association of columns and capitals, with the pointed, pyramidal, funereal-like ornaments of Gothic structures, its existence in its present situation is altogether an unnatural excrescence, serving only to conceal the almost unrivalled stone screen east of it. To aggravate the evil, the painted glass in the windows over the choir has been taken away and plain glass substituted, in consequence of which the glare of light is equally offensive and destructive of the scenic effect. The exquisite workmanship of some parts of the ancient stone screen makes one lament its incongruities and position. The funerary vases, generously but not very tastefully placed in its niches (the ancient abode of the papal gods Amphiballus, Swithin, and others) by prebendary Harris at the beginning of last century, do not harmonize with the other decorations. Lastly, West's picture of Christ raising Lazarus has shut out the table of the Commandments and Lord's Prayer from the view of Christian worshippers, to give place to the representation of a doctor curing a patient, while a few ordinary persons look on. Let us hear the papal bishop Milner: "Where has a Reynolds or a West been able to animate their saints, and particularly the Lord of Saints, with that supernatural cast of features, with that *ray of Promethean light* [a most *heathen* comparison from the ruthless castigator of Hoadley] which a Raphael and a Rubens have borrowed from heaven itself wherewith to inspire them?" We answer with Lavater, that even the best are weak and unnatural crudities of men's fancies; and as to De Vinci's Eternal Word creating the Universe, it is an abortive effort of impiety to personify Omnipotence, and has ended only in producing a monster!

† In the foreign specimens of the architecture of the middle ages, we see no very decisive symptom of the peculiar enrichments, the chevron mouldings, the eagles' sculls, basso relievos, &c. which the Saxons so much affected in their highly ornamented arches and door-ways. These, it is not impossible, may have been imitations of the chaste enrichments which belong to the pure Doric.—Quarterly Review, No. 11.

Southwark), Henry de Blois (brother of king Stephen), and R. de Toclyve, suffered the cathedral to pass unmutilated. But the next prelate was Godfrey de Lucy, who, according to the Winchester annals, begun and completed the tower. Rudborne asserts, what is favoured by internal evidence, that it was finished during the life of Walkelin. To reconcile these contradictions, Dr. Milner alleges that there must have been two towers, and that the Saxon work east of the high altar with a small tower over it (perhaps on the site of the present chancel) being decayed, were repaired by Lucy in 1200. After this the bishop agreed in 1202, with a confraternity of workmen, probably free-masons *, to rebuild the whole east end of the church with the lady chapel, as far as it originally extended, in five years. He died however a year before it was finished, and was buried in the centre of the works he had projected. Still the business of remodulating was continued; the progress of the pointed architecture was equally rapid and general; pointed and lancet arches with cuspidated shoulders, spreading columns, flowered tracery vaulting, shelving and ornamented buttresses, turrets and pyramidal pinnacles, decorated with torches or crockets, canopied nitches, statuary friezes and corbels, ramified mullions, historical windows, and tabernacled door-ways, became parts of every high finished building. Winchester must necessarily be in the fashion of other cathedrals, and bishop William de Edingdon, treasurer and chancellor to Edward III. actually commenced (in 1366) rebuilding the nave, though he lived to finish only the first two windows † with their corresponding buttresses and a pinnacle on the north side, and the first window with a buttress and pinnacle on the south side, at the west end of the cathedral. His more fortunate successor, William of Wykeham, completed what he had began. This memorable patron of learning employed Wm. Winford as architect, S. Membury as surveyor, and the monk J. Wayte as controller of the works. This architect, it

* The question respecting Freemasons being the original architects of our cathedrals, has been revived and adopted by sir James Hall, in his splendid Essay on Gothic Architecture, published in 1813. The opinion is plausible, and it accounts for the uniformity of manner, and the changes in that manner rather by centuries and epochs than countries. The other parts of this ingenious author's theories, ascribing the origin of the pointed arch to wicker-work, and defining the compartments in windows, groining, and tracery in cielings, &c. by the ramifications and branches of trees, may amuse the fancy with curious and even exact analogies, but they add little to our stock of knowledge, and do not inform or satisfy the judgment.

† In opposition to this statement, which is adopted by Milner, Mr. Brayley, with his usual acuteness and accuracy, in his account of Hampshire (Beauties of England, vol. vi.), considers the windows as distinctly marked to be the work of Edingdon, because the trefoils in every compartment, both inside and outside, instead of being cusped are cordated or heart-shaped, and accompanied with certain foliated carvings, which have been imitated by bishop Fox at the east end of the church. The same ornament appears in the church of Edington, Wilts. which was built by this bishop in the place from which he derived his name. This is a corroborative circumstance, which seems fully to justify Mr. Brayley's conclusion, "that the whole, or nearly the whole of the west front, must be considered as the work of Edyngton; and though not so beautifully proportioned as some other parts of the cathedral, is yet executed in a style highly creditable to his taste and judgment."

appears, made his pinnacles lighter, his windows loftier and narrower, having only three mullions instead of four, and in other respects pursued his own taste in completing the nave, without much regard to mathematical uniformity. His work, however, was not entirely a new erection, but a remodelling*; as the original Saxon pillars may be traced, observes Milner, "not only at the steps leading to the choir, where there was a sufficient reason for not casing them, but aloft, amidst the very timbers of the roof on both sides of the nave, through the greater part of its extent, corresponding to those in the transept. The pointed arches also between the columns of the first story have been formed within the circular ones of the Saxon second story. These facts offer an explanation of the excessive massiveness of the columns, it being necessary to case the Saxon pillars with Gothic clusters." The west front, nave, and choir being now finished chiefly in the pointed style of architecture, the eastern part, from the tower to the low aisles, said to be built by de Lucy, still retained their original Saxon features†; these it was deemed necessary to remove, and it is conjectured that if bishop Fox had lived longer (he died in 1528), he would have operated in like manner on the tower and transept. Perhaps the circumstance is not to be regretted; and however defective the cathedral may be in point of uniformity, it excels in variety, while it exhibits a characteristic trait of exterior ornament with a good genuine old English heart. In addition to the lady chapel finished by Fox at the east end of the cathedral, prior Silkestede about the same time annexed to its eastern extremity a chapel or sanctuary, and altar about fifty-six feet in length, and containing three spacious windows crowded with ornaments, and other parts besmeared with devices of the founder.

Did our limits permit, we should here describe some of the interesting monuments which abound in this cathedral. On entering the nave, the chantry of Wykeham ‡ appears under the fifth arch of the south aisle.

* Prior Thomas of St. Swithin's says, that Wykeham "a fundamentis *reparavit* ac etiam *renovavit*" ecclesiam. Lowth, App. Life of Wykeham. Chaundler is more definite; "corpus dictæ ecclesiæ cum duabus alis & omnibus fenestris vitreis, a magna occidentali fenestra capitali usque campanile a funde usque ad summum de novo *reparavit*, & voltas in eisdem, opere curioso, constituit." Angl. Sacr. v. ii. In addition to this historical evidence, there is also demonstrative proof that the style of architecture only was altered by Winford, as some recent alterations in the *Slype* or passage on the south side of the cathedral, occasioned the removal of part of a wall or buttress adjoining the west door, and leading to the Close, when the Saxon ornaments, billet, and circular mouldings were exposed to view, and are still to be seen.

† At the east end of the cathedral there are some indications of its having originally been circular, a circumstance not noticed either by Milner or Brayley. It is probable that the eastern termination of the Saxon church was semicircular, although not particularly specified by the chroniclers. It would appear that such forms are of great antiquity, all men prefering circular to angular figures; and even in the South Sea islands, among the savage Otaheiteans, we find the houses of the chiefs have an oval figure. See Turnbull's Voyage round the World, 4to. 1813.

‡ "The marble figure of this great man," observes Milner, "is dressed in the complete (popish) episcopal costume of mitre, crosier, gloves, ring, cope, tunic, dalmatic, alb, sandals, &c. which of late have been properly gilt and coloured."

Nearly opposite to it is the very curious old font * in the north aisle, which has occasioned much controversy, and nourished more superstition. Advancing towards the choir we previously come to the steps under the ancient rood-loft †, with the tomb and chantry of bishop Eding-

* The font in this cathedral has attracted very unusual attention, and puzzled antiquaries extremely. Dr. Milner supposes he has at length solved the conundrum, and explained the hieroglyphical figures on its sides, by means of the Golden Legends of saints and the Sarum Breviary. Two sides, the north and east, of this font, are very similar to that in Lincoln. It is covered on the top and four sides with rude carving; the ornaments on the top and two sides consist of Saxon zigzag, pellets, &c. with doves, emblematic of the Holy Ghost (similar to what are seen on ancient Christian monuments in the catacombs at Rome), which appear breathing into phials supposed to contain the two kinds of sacred chrism used in baptism. The dove is represented in various attitudes, with a salamander, emblematic of fire, in allusion to the baptism in Mat. iii. 2. The other two sides are more curious, and have been generally supposed to represent the history of Birinus, and his voyage to England. Under this impression the antiquity of this font was carried back to the seventh century. Dr. Milner now offers another and more plausible conjecture. Baptism by immersion, he believes, was in use till the tenth century, and was performed in a bath, called a baptistery, being a building distinct from the church, and consequently this font, which is calculated only for aspersion, cannot be of an older date; mitres were not used as episcopal ornaments before the tenth century, although something approaching their figure, or that of a rude crown, appears on the head of the priest, with his crosier, in this piece of sculpture. The most distinct human figures on this font, are the effigy of a bishop, four other persons, a child, and a Saxon church on the south side; two of the persons have joined hands, another holds a bird, the fourth has extended arms covered with a robe, and the child is sitting. On the west side are two effigies of a bishop, a crescent-like boat with three persons, a child lying flat, two recumbent, one erect, three recumbent heads, and a man standing with an instrument like the helm of a boat, raised up in the manner of an ax for striking. These characters are supposed by Milner to represent the miracles of St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra, in Lyria, the patron of children, and the hymen of the papal theogony, whose altars remained entire in France during all the horrors of the revolution. The first act of Nicholas, in which by the way there is nothing miraculous, was his giving money to a nobleman in distress, who was tempted to make a traffic of his daughters. Nicholas was rich, and being pleased with the damsels, left them purses of gold every night in their bedchamber, with which they obtained husbands. This incident, bishop M. thinks, is commemorated on the south side of the font, where the father is represented as thanking Nicholas, his daughters having got married, and the church appearing in the distance. The next is Nicholas's voyage to the Holy Land, when he was threatened with shipwreck; but being more wise and powerful than St. Paul, he appeased the storm, and avoided the apostle's fate. At Alexandria he cured the sick; but his chief glory, after procuring husbands to the three fair sisters, was that of saving the lives of three young men condemned to death in Myra, by his speedy arrival just at the moment the executioner had raised the ax to chop off their heads. The last incident supposed to be here represented, is that of a miracle performed by Nicholas long after his death. A childless nobleman prayed to St. Nicholas for a son; this good generative god, as his votaries well know, is not deaf, and he gave the man his prayer, for which he was to receive a gold cup in return. The cup was made, but as the son was living, and the vow forgotten, he thought to give Nicholas an inferior one. Another cup was made, and the nobleman set out on his voyage to Myra, with his son and the second cup, to present it to Nicholas; but the boy and first cup both fell over the vessel into the sea, and the dejected father proceeded to Myra, where he repented and prayed, when to his great joy and astonishment his son with the cup came walking into the church! Hence the reason of the child lying at the end of the boat. Such are the eastern romances which are enlisted to explain the sepulture of this celebrated font. Part of these scenes would apply equally well to St. Clement, who was drowned in the sea with an anchor tied to his neck, and which turned into a magnificent church and altar under the water. At the place also where this holy man expired, the sea becomes dry seven days every year, and allows the people to walk in to worship at his altar, which is at other times covered many fathoms with water. As to the age of the font, Mr. S. Carte thinks it uncertain, the monks not being interested in baptism, but in burying. (Archaeol. x.)—Rev. Mr. Denne (Id. xi.) supposes that Lincoln and Winchester had parochial altars or chapels, which accounts for their having fonts; and as the monks derived advantage from the baptismal chrism, the parochial clergy were enjoined to supply it annually and pay the fee; but many of them were economical, and made it serve two or three years, although the remnant at the end of every year was ordered to be burned.

† Its use is thus described by Milner. "At the top of the steps leading to the choir is the spot which was formerly covered by the pulpitum. This answers to the ambo in the basilica of the primitive church, and was used for reading or chaunting the lessons of the divine office, as likewise for containing the organ and the minstrelsey in general, which accom-

don on the south aisle. The entrance to the choir is obstructed by a modern partition, justly reprehended by every spectator. The choir and chancel having crypts under them are elevated some steps above the flooring of the nave and aisles. The cieling of the tower, which forms part of the choir, is the work of Charles I. in 1634; that of the chancel or presbytery is attributed to bishop Fox. The stalls in the choir are conjectured to be older than the nave, and are ornamented with finely-carved work, as *misereries**, canopies, &c. The pulpit is executed in cane-work, and bears the name of prior Silkestede; opposite to it is a Corinthian episcopal throne. Behind the altar is the stone screen already noticed: under the three arches on each side of the chancel are six mortuary chests, containing the bones of the Saxon kings, Kinigils, Adulphus, Kenulph, Egbert, and Edmund. In rear of this altar-screen is an apartment, also enclosed with a screen on its east side, called a capitular chapel. This was the site of the magnificent shrine of Swithin, composed of gold, silver, and precious stones, and has been denominated by modern writers the *Sanctum Sanctorum* †. On the south side of this chapel is Fox's chantry; and opposite to it is the last mausoleum of the papal bishops;

panied the choir below. From the circumstance of the lessons being here read, it is in some countries called the *Jube* (in consequence of beginning with the words *Jube, Domine*, &c.); and because a great crucifix was always placed in the front of it towards the people, it has also obtained the name of the Rood-Loft. The rood or crucifix, with the attendant figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, which formerly stood here, were very precious, as well for their antiquity as their value; being the legacy of Stigand, and composed of the precious metals. Beneath the crucifix, on the parapet of this loft and the spandrils of the arches supporting it, the histories of the Old and New Testaments were curiously carved, and beautified with colours. These being placed directly before the body of the people assembled in the church, formed a series of *instructive lessons*, which were *legible* to the most illiterate." With respect to the *instructive* powers of these legible lessons, the writer of this can speak from personal experience. In the cathedral of Valencia, in Spain, is a highly-finished rood-loft, where are some carvings of designs taken from the Bible history; but so very instructive are they, that few even of the officiating clergymen can tell to what they refer. It is ludicrously absurd to suppose that illiterate persons who cannot read, or if they could are not allowed to read, the Bible, can comprehend the import of sensible figures imagined from Divine Revelation. It should seem, however, as if papists themselves were conscious of their inutility, if not of their danger, as such sculptures are now rarely found in papal churches.

* "That small shelving-stool," says Milner, "which the seats of the stalls formed when turned up in their proper postition, is called a *Miserere*. On these the monks and canons of ancient times, with the assistance of their elbows on the upper part of their stalls, half supported themselves during certain parts of their long offices, not to be obliged always to stand or kneel. This stool, however, was so contrived, that, if the body became supine by sleep, it naturally fell down, and the person who rested upon it was thrown forward into the middle of the choir. The present usage in this country is to keep them always turned down, in which position they form a horizontal seat, an indulgence that was very rarely granted to those who kept choir in ancient times." He must have very little knowledge of the human mind, and still less of the true nature of Christian worship, who can suppose any man capable of praying in spirit and in truth, while he is thus suffering bodily uneasiness from a narrow seat, or any other human device, to distract his attention. Had bishop Milner ever once attempted to raise up his mind towards Infinite Power and Goodness, he must have found his total inability under such circumstances. He may, indeed, have commanded his tongue and lips, but not his mind and heart one entire minute in an irksome situation.

† This term seems to have electrified the historian of Winchester, inflamed his superstition, and ended by an explosion in Greek, with which he is little acquainted. "He is not at home on classic ground." Quart. Rev. No. 6. See his misinterpretation of bishop Andrews' epitaph.

that of the roasting Gardiner, whose bones "are handled and thrown about every day in the year," as a standing memorial of the fate of the wicked even in this world*. To the east of the capitular chapel is de Lucy's tomb. It appears probable that the similarity of the name Lucy to Lucius gave rise to the notion that it was also the sepulchre of the latter. In the western end of this part are the Holy Hole, and the tomb formerly supposed to be Swithin's, but now deemed to be that of Silkestede; east of these are the chantries of cardinal Beaufort and bishop Waynflete; and still farther east is the lady chapel with its stalls and paintings †; on the south-west side of it is Langton's chantry and on the north-west the Guardian Angel chapel. In the north aisle and north end of the transept there is little to arrest attention. In the south end of the transept were two chapels, with the calefactory and dormitory of the monks, adjoining the eastern cloister.

We have now passed the era of the glorious reformation, when the building or repairing of churches, the erection of magnificent chantries and luxurious mansoleums, the endowments of altars, the burning of lamps, the multiplication of images, and the accumulation of legacies for perpetual masses and prayers for the dead, have ceased to be the saviours of souls, the ladders by which the most wealthy and most wicked soonest attained the highest heaven. From the downfal of the Saxon church, the prototype of the present establishment, may be dated the ascendancy of popery in this country, and from that period till the reformation the idols of Moloch usurped the altar of the living God. The restoration of apostolic faith "overthrew the idols, removed the high places, and destroyed the graven images." This however was not effected without violent resistance; and the bloody reign of Mary and her mitred executioner, Gardiner, evinced at once the extremes of virtue and vice in our country. We might then see, as a Spanish historian has well observed, "talents overcome, torrents of blood shed in the most barbarous and cruel manner, virtue persecuted and sacrificed, and injustice triumphant ‡." Happily the moral picture since the re-establishment of true religion amply consoles us for the horrors accumulated on the innocent and beneficent reformers. Yet, however great may be the force of truth on some occasions, it has not been able to shield the Protestant bishops of Winchester from the

* We admire the natural wish of bishop Milner, who invokes the sepulture of Gadiner's bones in the words of Horace for Archytas. But while we respect the voice of humanity let us not abuse justice; we must not forget by whose means Ridley, Latimer, &c. wanted a sepulchre; by whose contrivance "Their ashes flew,—No marble tells us whither."

† This place seems to be similar to the Θεσμοφορια, or worship of Ceres, the nourisher of mortals, among the Greeks. See Mariolatria or Mary-worship condemned, Luke xi. 27, 28.

‡ "Los talentos malogrados, los lazos de la sangre rotos del modo mas barbaro y mas vil, la virtud perseguida y sacrificada, la injusticia triunfante." Quintana's Lives.

ferocious libels of Milner, nearly all of whom (about twenty-one from the reformation to the present day), have been traduced in some respect or other by this papal bishop and politician. It was, indeed, natural that the dissolution of Swithin's priory should excite his ire; but Kingesmell, the forty-first and last prior (since its origin in 970), shares his abuse for becoming the first Protestant dean of the cathedral in 1539. Since that period its bishops and deans have been distinguished at least for their talents and learning, however superstitious bigots may vainly seek to decry their superior virtues and Christian piety. It is, however, the duty of historians to be impartial; and had we discovered in Protestants those gross deviations from rectitude, or even weakness, which so repeatedly occur in the lives of monks, cardinals, and popes, they should not have passed unnoticed. We wish not to speak evil of dignities, still less to ascribe turpitude where it is possible to be innocent. We regret the necessity of using in the nineteenth century the same language as our enlightened reformers did in the sixteenth; but idolatry is still predominant, and too many self-called Protestants begin to think it harmless. We should rejoice if the facts stated in this brief sketch tend to disabuse even one individual of this fatal error.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Extreme length from west to east 554 feet; breadth from north to south 208. NAVE 351 feet long, 86 broad, including the aisles, and 78 high. CHOIR 138 feet long, 40 broad, and the same height as the nave. CHANCEL 93 feet long. TRANSEPT 208 feet long. The Lady Chapel is 56 feet long; the Cloisters were 179 in length and the same in breadth.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

Plate 1, Exhibits the great West Doorway, through which appear the columns and groining of the nave, the eastern window of the choir, and the stone screen at the back of the altar. The Grecian partition which separates the nave from the choir is omitted.

Plate 2. West Front and great West Window, which contains some richly-stained glass, with the doors into the nave and aisles, and the open gallery over them, said to be originally designed for the convenience of the bishop in his pontificals, when attended by his clergy, to give his blessing on certain occasions to the people assembled in front, or to absolve them from any censure which they had incurred. The beauty of the fine towers on each side of the window is greatly impaired by the clumsy square buttresses.

Plate 3. A North-west View, shewing the north transept and part of the nave; there is an entrance to the transept under a low arch; the shafts of the columns supporting it are nearly covered with earth; immediately within is an apartment separated from the rest of the transept, and used as a workshop by masons and others.

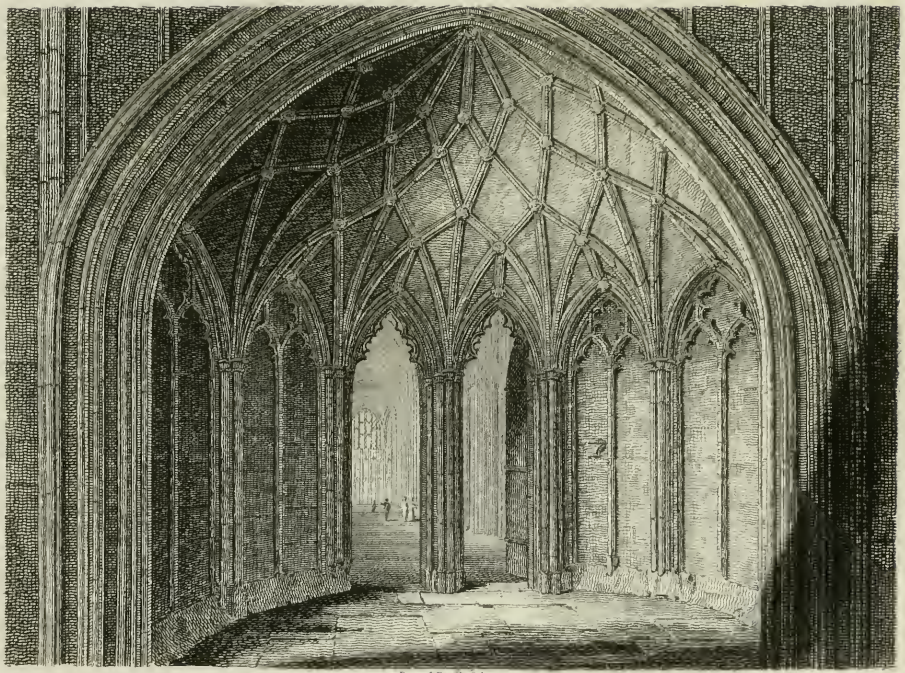
Plate 4. A distant Prospect of the cathedral, including the picturesque ruins of Wolvesey castle, which form the foreground. The origin of this memorable palace, is ascribed to Kinigils and Cenowalch, and said to have been repaired and enlarged by bishop Henry de Blois in 1138. King Edgar imposed it as a tribute on Ludwall, a Welsh prince, to find him 300 wolves' heads every year, and deposit them with the bishop, at his palace in Winchester, which hence derived the name of *Wolvesey*. After paying this tribute three years, he was unable to procure any more wolves' heads, either by hunting in his own territories, or by purchase in any other part of the island. Thus were these animals extirpated, and our woollen staple protected.

Plate 5, Represents the north-east of the building with the Lady Chapel and sanctuary, containing the north windows of the Guardian Angel chapel, &c.

Plate 6. A south view taken from the dean's garden; part of the deanery library appears in front.

Plate 7, Pourtrays the south side of the nave and west side of the south transept, with the *slype* or arched passage leading from the cloisters to the east of the building.

Plate 8, Shews the Interior of the north transept; in the upper story are seen the Saxon arched passages or trifaria in the wall. This transept is now in so ruinous and degraded a state that the public have lately been denied access to it. Formerly the walls were decorated with paintings, and it still retains traces of its primitive magnificence.



Drawn & Engd by J. Storer.

Pl. 1.

West Door, Winchester Cathedral.

Published Sept.r 1813 by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row.

Engd by Storer from a Drawing by H. Storer

Pl. 2.

West Front of Winchester Cathedral.

To the Right Revd & Hble Brownlow North D.C.L
Lord Bishop of Winchester.
This Plate is Respectfully inscribed by
His Lordships most humble Servt J. Storer.

Published 1st Jan. 1813 by Harwood Hyde Kennet, Paternoster Row.

Engd. by Storer, from a Drawing by J. Ware

Pl. 3.

N.W. View of Winchester Cathedral

Published 1st. 1825, by Sherwood, Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row

Engᵈ by [illegible] from a Drawing by Henry Steer.

Pl 4

Winchester Cathedral, from the ruins of Wolvesey

Published Sepᵗ 1.1825, by Sherwood Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row

Engd by J. Storer, from a Drawing by H. Storer

Pl. 6.

A View of Winchester Cathedral.

Published Sept.r 1.1815 by Sherwood Neely & Jones, Paternoster Row

Engd by [illegible] from a Drawing by [illegible]

A View of Winchester Cathedral.

To the Revd. Thos. Rennell, D.D. & F.S.A. Dean of Winchester.

This Plate is most Respectfully inscribed

By his humble Servt. J. Storer.

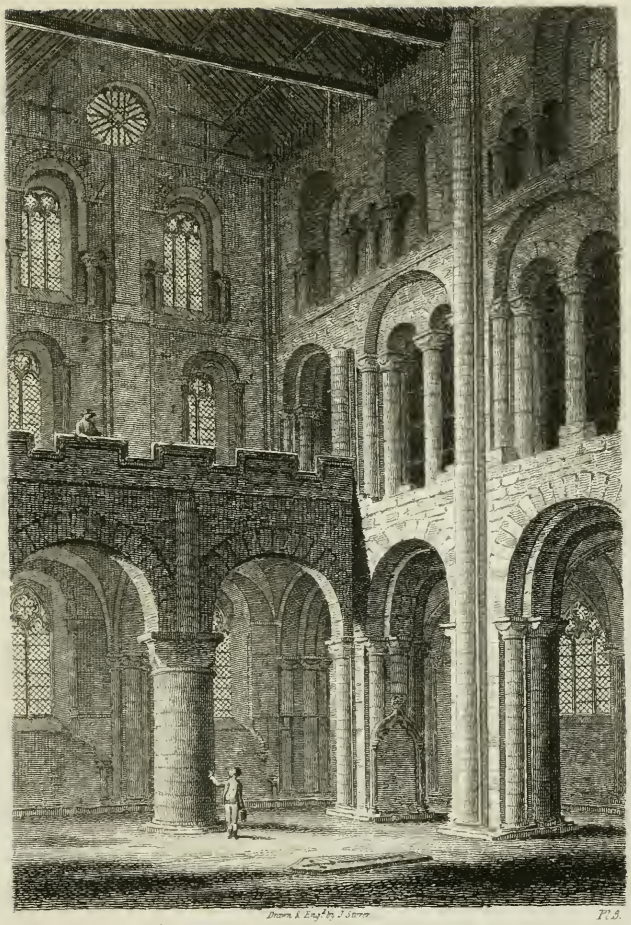
Published Sept.r 1813 by Storer and Neale & Jones Bitterne Row

Engd by J. Storer from a Drawing by Henry Storer

Pl. 7

S.W. View of Winchester Cathedral.

Published Sep.r 1.1811. by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row



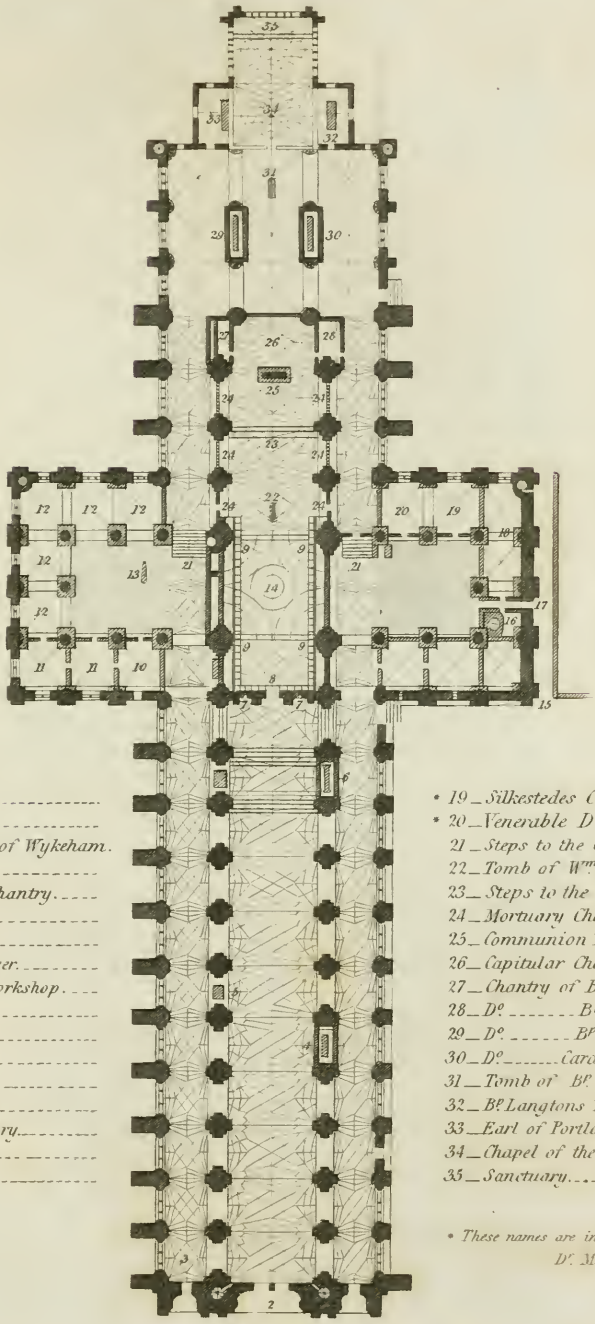
Drawn & Engd by J. Storer. Pl. 3.

N. E. Transept, Winchester Cathedral.

Published Sept.1.1815 by Sherwood Neely & Jones Paternoster Row.

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Shewing the groining of the Roof.



2 _ *Great West Door.*
3 _ *Gallery for Minstrels*
4 _ *Tomb & Chantry of W^m of Wykeham.*
5 _ *Ancient Font*
6 _ *B^p Edingtons Tomb & Chantry.*
7 _ *Grecian Screen*
8 _ *Entrance to Choir.*
9 _ *Pillars of the Great Tower.*
10 _ *Chapel now used as a Workshop.*
11 _ *Enclosed Chapels.*
12 _ *Chapels.*
13 _ *Ancient Coffin.*
14 _ *Lanthorn.*
15 _ *Entrance to the Slype.*
16 _ *Staircase to the Dormitory.*
17 _ *Door of S. Trancept.*
18 _ *Calefactory.*

* 19 _ *Silkestedes Chapel.*
* 20 _ *Venerable D^o.*
21 _ *Steps to the Choir.*
22 _ *Tomb of W^m Rufus.*
23 _ *Steps to the Chance*
24 _ *Mortuary Chests.*
25 _ *Communion Table.*
26 _ *Capitular Chapel.*
27 _ *Chantry of B^p Gard*
28 _ *D^o* _ *B^p Fox.*
29 _ *D^o* _ *B^p Waint*
30 _ *D^o* _ *Card^l Beaut*
31 _ *Tomb of B^p De Lu*
32 _ *B^p Langtons Tomb &*
33 _ *Earl of Portlands To*
34 _ *Chapel of the Virgin*
35 _ *Sanctuary.*

* *These names are inserted fr*
D^r Milner.

CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

ARCHBISHOPS.

Augustine	597	Ethelnoth	1020	William Wittlesey	1368
Lawrence	604	Eadsius or Eadsin	1038	Simon Sudbury	1375
Mellitus	619	Robert	1051	Wm. Courtney (8)	1381
Justus	624	Stigand	1052	Thomas Arundel (9)	1396
Honorius	630	Lanfranc	1070	Roger Walden *interposed.*	
Vacant Eighteen months.		*Vacant Four Years.*		H. Chichely (10)	1414
Deusdedit	655	Anselm	1093	John Stafford	1443
Vacant Four Years.		*Vacant Five Years.*		John Kemp	1452
Dimianius or Wigard	667	Ralph	1114	T. Bourchier (11)	1454
Theodore	668	Wm. Corboil	1123	John Morton (12)	1486
Brithwald	692	*Vacant Two Years.*		Henry Dean	1501
Tatwine	731	Theobald	1138	W. Warham (13)	1503
Nothelm	735	*Vacant Two Years.*		Thos. Cranmer (14)	1533
Cuthbert	741	Thos. Becket	1162	Reginald Pole (15)	1556
Bregwine	759	*Vacant Three Years.*		Matt. Parker (16)	1559
Vacant Two Years.		Richard	1173	Edm. Grindal (17)	1575
Jaenberght	762	Baldwin	1184	John Whitgift (18)	1583
Vacant Three Years.		*Vacant Two Years.*		Rich. Bancroft (19)	1604
Athelard	793	Hubert Walter	1193	George Abbot (20)	1611
Vulfhred	807	*Vacant Two Years.*		William Laud	1633
Ceolnoth	831	Stephen Langton	1207	*Vacant Sixteen Years.*	
Athelred	870	Rich. Wethershed	1229	William Juxon (21)	1660
Plegmund	890	Edmund	1234	Gilbert Sheldon (22)	1663
Athelm	924	Boniface	1241	William Sancroft	1677
Wlfhelm	928	Robt. Kilwardby	1272	John Tillotson	1691
Odo	941	John Peckham	1279	Thomas Tenison	1694
Elsine	958	Robt. Winchelsey(1)	1293	William Wake	1716
Brithelm	959	Walter Reynolds	1313	John Potter (23)	1737
Dunstan	961	Simon Mepham (2)	1327	Thomas Herring	1747
Ethelgar	988	J. Stratford (3)	1333	Matthew Hutton	1757
Siricius	989	John de Ufford (4)	1348	Thomas Secker	1758
Alfric	995	T. Bradwardin (5)	1349	Frederic Cornwallis	1768
Elphage	1006	Simon Islip (6)	1349	John Moore	1783
Living	1013	Simon Langham (7)	1366	C. Manners Sutton	1805

DEANS.

Ceolnoth	820	Alfric—Kinsin—Maurice		Ethelnoth	1018
Ægelwin	831	Alsine—Ælfwine—Athelsine		Godric	1020

PRIORS.

Henry	1080	Honorius	1186	Ric. Gillingham	1370
Ernulf	1096	Roger Norris *	1189	Step. Mongeham	1376
Conrad	1107	Osbern de Bristo	1190	J. Finchde Winchelsy	1377
Gosfride	1126	Galfride	1191	Thos. Chillenden	1391
Elmer	1128	J. de Chittham	1206	J. Woodnesburgh	1411
Jeremy	1137	Walter III.	1217	Wm. Mollush	1428
Walter	1143	J. de Sittingburn	1222	J. Sarisbury, D.D.	1438
Walter Parvus	1149	R. de la Lee	1234	John Elham	1446
Wybert	1153	Nic. de Sandwich	1244	Thos. Goldstone I.	1449
Oliver	1167	R. de St. Elphage	1258	John Oxney	1468
Richard	1172	A. de Chillenden	1263	Wm. Petham	1471
Odo	1173	Thomas Ryngmere	1274	Wm. Sellyng	1472
Benedict	1175	Henry de Estria	1285	T. Goldstone II.	1495
Harlewin	1177	Ric. de Oxinden	1331	T. Goldwell (surrendered in 1540)	1517
Alan	1179	Robt. Hathbrand	1338		

* Rog. Norris.—He was made abbot of Evesham, where, says Girald. Cambrensis, "he behaved himself in a wretched and scandalous manner, giving an unbounded loose to luxury and lust, seducing young maids from their parents, and debauching all that came in his way, hunting and searching through the manors and villages belonging to the monastery, various objects for his vicious appetite, and had so far thrown off all fear of God and shame of men, that he had at one time no less than twenty-two bastards!"

CANTERBURY.

DEANS.

N. Wotton (24)	1540	J. Tillotson	1672	Hon. B. North	1776
Thomas Godwin	1566	John Sharp	1689	John Moore	1771
Ric. Rogers	1584	George Hooper	1691	Hon. J. Cornwallis	1775
Thomas Neville (25)	1597	George Stanhope	1703	George Horne	1781
C. Fotherby	1615	Elias Sydall	1728	William Buller	1790
John Boys	1619	John Lynch	1731	F. H. Wal. Cornwall	1793
Isaac Bargrave	1625	William Freind	1760	Thomas Powys	1797
George Eglionby	1642	John Potter	1766	S. G. ANDREWES	1809
Thomas Turner	1643				

(1) A most hospitable man; on Sundays and Fridays he fed 4000 persons when corn was cheap, and 5000 when dear; he gave pensions and charities to all worthy indigent people, and refused the dignity of cardinal and pope, although he was too obedient to the latter.—(2) He was excommunicated by the pope in a moment of spleen, and died shortly after, but could not be buried till abbot Thomas Poney of St. Augustine, and his successor, took off the excommunication.—(3) Translated from Winchester.—(4) The expense of procuring his appointment from the pope sunk him in debt, and by his dying shortly after, many of his creditors were ruined; "at that time great preferments went at such a high rate, that the purchasers could scarcely, in long time, reimburse themselves."—(5) Was a prelate of considerable learning and talent, called doctor Profundus; to his advice and discourses are attributed much of the king's success against the French.—(6) He imposed a tax on his clergy to appropriate to his own purposes, obtained the exemption of the clergy from secular judgment, but ordained clerical convicts to imprisonment and mean diet for life.—(7) He was made cardinal, and being so elated with the honour, he announced it in parliament before letting the king know; for this his temporalities were seized; nevertheless he is reputed a wise and good man.—(8) Persecuted the Wickliffites rigorously.—(9) Was lord Chancellor, but was impeached and exiled, yet afterwards returned with and crowned Henry IV.; he was the first who applied fire and faggots to the Wickliffites.—(10) Was appointed legate, but wisely declined acting without the king's permission.—(11) Was made a cardinal but resigned it.—(12) A public-spirited and beneficent prelate, also a cardinal and statesman, who maintained an unblemished reputation.—(13) Was a patron of learning, a friend to Erasmus, a good and able prelate, statesman, and reformer.—(14) The martyr whose life should be familiar to every Christians, and one of the fourteen divines who composed the Common Prayer.—(15) A cardinal who persecuted protestantism, not because he believed it erroneous, but to sate his revenge against king Henry; his "fresh colour, lively sparkling eyes, and cheerful look," perhaps led to his "nocturnal interviews with queen Mary."—(16) A learned ecclesiastical antiquary, founder of the Society of Antiquaries. The brutal indignity to the corpse of this pious and learned prelate by one Hardyng, during the rebellion, is well known.—(17) Master of Pembroke hall, Cambridge; he fled to Germany from the flames during Mary and Bonner's reign, returned at the desire of Elizabeth, and wrote many useful reforming works, particularly the dialogue between Truth and Custom, in Fox's Martyrology.—(18) A successor both in college and episcopal honours of the preceding; the queen jocosely called him her "black husband;" he satisfactorily answered all the arguments of the famous puritan Cartwright, converted the separatists by the superiority of his reasons, and the apostolic meekness of his temper. Cartwright aimed at making the political subservient to the ecclesiastical government, and reviled Whitgift, who forgave him, and patronized him on his return to right reason. Sutcliffe accused Cartwright of avarice, "a man that hath more landes of his own in possession than any bishop, that faireth daintily, and feedeth fayre and fatte, and lyeth as soft as any tenderling, and hath woone much wealth in short time, &c."—(19) The puritans felt this prelate's writings more than those of any other,—(20) Lord Clarendon says "he was of morose manners, sowre looks, ignorant of the church constitution, encouraged and skreened railers at church government." His successor was a very opposite character, and fell a martyr during the rebellion, in his seventy-first year.—(21) A man whom malice could not accuse; he advised the king against the attainder of lord Strafford, and attended this unfortunate sovereign to the scaffold; he retired during the rebellion, and at the restoration was made metropolitan; "he was a learned man, a pious divine, a faithful councellor, an enemy to all persecution, and so inoffensive in his life, that he was suffered to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, a courtesy then granted to few."—(22) This prelate and his successor evinced great industry in teaching the catechism, although the latter was a jacobite, and resigned at the revolution.—(23) A prelate, whose learning and talents are well known to Europe, but he was unfortunate in his family affairs, as often happens to literary men, and, in consequence, has been censured with some asperity on a point of which few or no strangers are capable of judging.—(24) A great and faithful negociator, a privy counsellor to Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary and Elizabeth; ambassador several times in France, Germany, Hungary, Spain, Cleves, and the Netherlands.—(25) This divine erected in 1609 one of the finest buildings in Cambridge, called after him, Neville's Court, Trinity College. Its measurement is 228 feet by 223 S. and N. 148 by 132 W. and E. Dr. Neville was then master of Trinity, yet his name and works are strangely omitted in Dyer's Hist. of Camb.

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Errata.—Page c, note ‡, line first, for "Augustines's" read "Augustine's;" page *h*, line 12, for "investiage" read "investigate;" page *aa*, line 12, for "Kilwardy" read "Kilwardby."

CHICHESTER.

BISHOPS OF SELSEY AND CHICHESTER.

Wilfrid	681	J. de Greneford	1174	Edward Story	1478
Hedda	686	Seffrid II.	1180	Richard Fitz James	1504
Daniel	705	Simon de Wells	1204	Robert Shurborn	1508
Eadbert	711	Nicholas de Aquila	1209	Richard Sampson	1536
Eolla	719	Richard Poore	1215	George Day	1543
Vacant.		Ralph de Wareham	1217	John Scory	1552
Sigga or Sigelm	735	Ralph Neville	1223	JohnChristopherson	1559
Alubrith	761	R. Passelew annulled		William Barlow (4)	1559
Osa or Bosa	790	Rich. de la Wich (1)	1245	Richard Curteis	1570
Giselther	817	John Clipping	1253	Thomas Bickley	1584
Tota	844	Steph. de Berkstead	1261	Anthony Watson	1596
Wigthem	873	Gilb. de S. Leofardo	1288	Lancelot Andrews	1605
Ethelulf	891	John Langton	1305	Samuel Harsnet	1609
Beornege	906	Robert Stratford	1337	George Carleton	1619
Coenred	924	W. de Lenne or Lu-		Richard Montague	1628
Gutheard	942	limere	1362	Brian Duppa	1638
Alfred or Elfred	960	William Reade	1369	Henry King	1641
Eadhelm	970	Thomas Rushooke	1385	Peter Gunning	1669
Ethelgar	980	Richard Mitford	1389	Ralph Brideoake	1675
Ordbright	988	Robert Waldby	1395	Guy Carleton	1678
Elmar	1003	Robert Reade (2)	1396	John Lake	1685
Ethelric or Agelred	1019	Stephen Patrington	1417	Simon Patrick	1689
Grynketell	1039	Henry Ware	1418	Robert Grove	1691
Heca	1047	John Kemp	1422	John Williams	1696
Agelric	1057	Thomas Poledon	1422	T. Manningham (5)	1709
Stigand, removed to	1070	John Rickingale	1426	Thomas Bowers	1722
CHICHESTER	1082	Simon Sydenham	1430	Edward Waddington	1724
William or Godfrey	1088	Richard Praty	1438	Francis Hare	1731
Ralph or Ranulf	1091	Adam Molens	1445	Matthias Mawson	1740
Seffrid	1125	Reg. Peacock (3)	1450	Sir W. Ashburnham	1754
Hilary	1148	John Arundell M.D.	1458	JOHN BUCKNER	1798

DEANS.

Richard	1115	Roger de Freton	1369	William Thorne	1601
Matthew	1125	Richard de Scrope	1383	Francis Dee	1630
Richard	1144	J. de Maydenhith	1400	Richard Stewart	1634
William	1158	Henry Lovell	1410	Bruno Ryves	1660
John de Greneford	1172	Richard Talbot	1415	Joseph Henshaw	1660
Jor. de Meleburn	1176	William Milton	1420	Jos. Gulston or Glus-	
Seffride	1180	J. Patten or Wayn-		ton	1663
Mat. of Chichester	1180	flete	1425	Nathaniel Crew	1669
Nic. de Aquila	1190	John Hasele	1434	Lambroth Thomas	1671
Ralph	1196	John Closs	1481	George Stradling	1672
Seffrid	1197	Robert Pychard	1501	Francis Hawkins	1618
Simon	1220	Galfridus Symeon	1503	William Hayley	1699
Walter	1230	John Young	1526	Thomas Sherlock	1715
Thos. of Lichfield	1232	W. Fleshmonger	1526	John Newry	1728
Geoffrey	1250	Richard Caurden	1543	Thomas Hayley	1735
Walter of Gloucester	1262	Giles Eyer	1549	James Hargraves	1739
W. de Bracklesham	1280	Bart. Traheron	1553	Sir W. Ashburnham	1742
T. de Berghstede	1296	William Pye	1553	Thomas Ball	1754
W. de Grenefield	1299	Hugh Turnball	1558	Charles Harward	1770
John de St.Leofardo	1316	Richard Curteis	1566	Combe Millar	1790
Henry de Garland	1332	Anthony Rushe	1570	CHRIST. BETHEL	1814
Walter de Seagrave	1342	John Boxhall			
William of Lynne	1356	Martin Culpepper	1577		

(1) A miracle-monger, who was deified for persecuting the Albigenses.—(2) It is said he erected a cross in the market-place.—(3) Was deposed for denouncing the idolatrous rites and blasphemous notions introduced into the church from Rome, and for denying the Romish infallibility; his books were burnt, and he obliged to recant.—(4) The worthy coadjutor of Bonner; though he "carried much of Christ in his name, yet did he bear nothing of him in his nature, no meekness, mildness, or mercy; being wholly addicted to cruelty and destruction, burning no fewer than 10 persons in one fire in Lewes, and 17 others."—(5) Chaplain to queen Anne, who being ill, he was told to read prayers in another room; the chaplain answered, "I do not choose to whistle the prayers of the church through a keyhole."

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PETERBURGH.

ABBOTS.

Saxulf	654	Matthias	1103	Robert Sutton	1262
Cuthbald	673	Ernulf	1107	Ric. of London	1274
Egbald	——	John de Sais	1114	Wm. of Woodford	1296
Pusa	——	Henry de Angeli	1128	God. of Croyland	1299
Beonna	——	Martin de Bec	1133	A. Boothey	1321
Celred	——	W. de Waterville	1155	Henry of Morcot	1338
Hedda	833	Benedict	1177	Robert Ramsay	1346
Lay a Century in ruins.		Andreas	1193	Henry of Overton	1361
Adulf	972	Acharius	1200	Nicholas	1391
Kenulf	992	Robert de Lindsey	1214	W. Genge	1396
Elsine	1006	Alexander	1222	J. Deeping	1408
Arwin	1055	M. de Ramsey	1226	R. Ashton	1438
Leofric	1057	W. St. Edmonds	1233	W. Ramsey	1471
Brando	1066	William Hotot	1246	Robert Kirton	1496
Turold	1069	J. de Caleto	1249	Jn. Chambers, B.D.	1528
Godric	1098				

BISHOPS.

J. Chambers, B. D.	1541	John Towers (4)	1638	Robt. Clavering(10)	1728
D. Poole, LL.D.*	1556	*Vacant Twelve Years.*		John Thomas (11)	1747
E.Scambler, D.D.(1)	1560	Benjamin Laney (5)	1660	Richard Terrick(12)	1757
Richard Howland	1584	Jos. Henshaw	1663	Robert Lamb (13)	1764
Thomas Dove	1600	William Lloyd (6)	1672	John Hinchliffe(14)	1769
William Pierce (2)	1630	Thomas White (7)	1685	Spencer Madan (15)	1794
August. Linsdel (3)	1632	R. Cumberland (8)	1691	JOHN PARSONS (16)	1814
Francis Dee	1634	White Kennet (9)	1718		

DEANS.

Francis Abree or Leicester	1541	Hy. Beaumont (19)	1616	Ric. Reynolds (24)	1718
Gerard Carlton	1543	William Pierse	1622	William Gee	1721
James Courthoope	1551	John Towers	1630	John Mandeville	1722
John Boxhall (17)	1558	Thomas Jackson †	1638	Francis Lockier	1725
William Latymer	1560	John Cosin (20)	1640	John Thomas	1740
Ric. Fletcher (18)	1585	Edw. Rainbow (21)	1660	Robert Lamb	1744
Thomas Neville	1590	James Duport ‡	1664	Charles Tarrant	1764
John Palmer	1598	Simon Patrick (22)	1672	C. Man. Sutton (25)	1791
Richard Clayton	1608	Richard Kidder (23)	1689	Peter Peckard §	1792
George Meriton	1612	Samuel Freeman	1691	THOMAS KIPLING	1798
		White Kennet	1707		

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* Poole, or Pole, a relation to the cardinal, and possessing the same papal notions, he was naturally deprived of a protestant see, in 1559, after the death of Mary; he left a legacy of money and books to All Souls college, Oxford.

† President of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, a divine of great learning and talents, whose works were collected, by the rev. Mr. B. Oley, in three vols., folio; they abound in able illustrations of controversial subjects, from which much useful knowledge might be derived, and worthy the attention of the present age.

‡ The learned professor of Greek in Magdalen college, Cambridge; he translated the English liturgy into Greek, and was also one of the translators of king James's bible.

§ Said, by Mr. Nicholo, to be author of the Life of Nicholas Ferrar, in which he was assisted by some of Mr. Peck's curious papers; he also published several single sermons and tracts, not very remarkable for logical orthodoxy. He was reputed one of archdeacon Blackburne's friends.

(1) Translated to Norwich.—(2) Previously dean, translated to Bath and Wells.—(3) To Hereford.—(4) Previously dean.—(5) To Lincoln.—(6) From Landaff, and thence to Norwich.—(7) Deprived for refusing the oaths to William and Mary.—(8) The very learned and pious expositor of papal idolatry in his fragment of Sanchoniathon, and the worthy ancestor of the late dramatic and moral essayist.—(9) Previously dean, a native of Dover, principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford; and a most useful writer.—(10) From Landaff, professor of Hebrew, Oxford.—(11) Previously dean, translated to Winchester.—(12) To London.—(13) Previously dean.—(14) Was also dean of Durham.—(15) Translated from Bristol.—(16) Principal of Baliol college, Oxford; distinguished for Christian rectitude of principle, as well as talents and learning.—(17) Deprived by Mary.—(18) Consecrated bishop of Bristol.—(19) Installed dean of Windsor.—(20) Consecrated bishop of Durham.—(21) Ditto of Carlisle.—(22) Ditto of Chichester.—(23) Ditto of Bath and Wells.—(24) Ditto of Bangor, and thence to Lincoln.—(25) Ditto of Norwich, and thence to Canterbury.

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LINCOLN.

BISHOPS.

Of Sidnacester.

Eadhed	678
Ethelwyn	679
Eadgar	701
Kinebert	720
Alwigh	732
Eadulf	750
Ceolulf	765
Ealdulf	797
Brightred	873

After which it was vacant till united to DORCHESTER.

Birinus	636
Agilbert	650
Totta, 1st. bishop of LEICESTER	737
Eadbert	764
Werenbert	768
Unwona	786
Rethun	806
Aldred	861
Ceolred	873
Halardus (last bishop of Leicester)	——
Ceolwulf	905
Leofwin (united the sees of D. and S.)	——
Ailnoth	960
Ascywn	995
Alfhelm	996
Eadnoth	1005
Eadheric	1017
Eadnoth II.	1034
Ulfus	1050
Wulfic	1053
Alexander (deposed)	1067
Remigius, first bp.	1070

Of Lincoln.

Remigius	1088
Robert Bloet	1092
Alexander	1123
Robert de Chesney	1147
Vacant Seventeen Years.	
Geof. de Plantagenet	1173
Wal. de Constantiis	1183
Hugh de Grenoble (1)	1186
Vacant Three Years.	
William de Blois	1204
Vacant Two Years.	
Hugh de Wells	1209
Robt. Greathead (2)	1235
Henry Lexington	1254
Ric. de Gravesend	1258
Oliver Sutton	1280
John d'Alderby (3)	1300
Thomas le Bec	1319
Henry Burghersh*	1320
Thomas le Bec	1342
John Gynewell	1347
Jn. Buckingham (4)	1363
Henry Beaufort (5)	1404
Philip Repingdon	1405
Richard Fleming (6)	1420
William Grey	1430
William Alnwick	1436
Marm. Lumley	1450
John Chidworth	1451
Thomas Scott	1471
John Russel	1480
William Smith	1495
Thomas Wolsey (7)	1513
William Atwater	1514
John Langland	1521
Henry Holbeach	1547
John Taylor (8)	1552
John White	1555
Thomas Watson	1557
Nic. Bullingham	1559
Thos. Cooper (9)	1570
William Wykeham	1584
Wm. Chaderton	1595
William Barlow	1608
Richard Neal	1613
Geo. Mountain	1617
John Williams	1621
Thomas Winniffe	1641
Robt. Saunderson	1660
Benjamin Laney	1662
William Fuller	1667
Thomas Barlow	1675
Thos. Tennison	1691
James Gardiner	1695
William Wake	1705
Edm. Gibson	1715
Richard Reynolds	1723
John Thomas	1743
John Green	1761
Thos. Thurlow	1779
GEORGE TOMLINE	1787

DEANS.

Ralph	1092
Simon Bloet	1110
Nigellus	1123
Ph. de Harecourt	1141
Adelmus	1145
Richard Fitz Neale	1184
Haimo	1189
Roger de Rolveston	1195
William de Tornay	1223
Rog. de Wescham	1245
Hy. de Lexington	1245
R. de Gravesend	1254
Robert de Mariscis	1259
W. de Lexington	1263
Richard Mepham	1273
John de Maydeston	1275
Oliver Sutton	1276
Nicholas Heigham	1280
Phillip Willoughby	1288
Jose. de Kirnington	1305
Rog. de Martival	1310
H. de Mammesfeld	1315
Anthony Bec	1329
William Bateman	1340
John de Ufford	1344
Simon de Breisly	1348
John de Strethely	1362
John de Shepey	1376
John Mackworth	1412
Robert Fleming	1451
George Fitz Hugh	1413
Geof. Simeon	1506
Thomas Wolsey	1508
John Constable	1514
George Heneage	1528
John Tailor	1548
Matthew Parker	1552
Francis Mallet	1554
John Whitgift	1571
William Wickham	1577
Rilph Griffin	1584
John Reynolds	1593
William Cole	1599
Lawrance Staunton	1601
Roger Parker	1613
Anthony Topham	——
Michael Honeywood	1660
Daniel Brevint	1681
Samuel Fuller	1695
Abraham Campion	1700
Richard Willis	1701
Robert Cannon	1721
Edward Gee	1722
Edward Willes	1730
John Green	1756
Hon. Jas. Yorke	1762
Richard Cust	1782
Richard Kaye	1783
GEORGE GORDON	1794

(1) The Burgundian who is reputed to have been deified, in 1201: he ordered the tomb of fair Rosamond to be removed from the choir of Godstow church, observing, "that the house of God ought not to be profaned by the body of a harlot."—(2) Would have been made a god had he not been a protestant.—(3) Called a Saint, from his sanctity.—(4) The pope, in revenge, translated him to Chester, which he refused, and retired to Canterbury.—(5) The cardinal celebrated by Shakespeare —(6) Was translated by the pope to York, but the chapter refusing to admit him, he returned to Lincoln, and the pope was obliged to revoke his bull.—(7) The famous cardinal.—(8) Deprived for a time by bloody Mary.—(9) The tutor of Camden, who praises him liberally.—

* Famous for disloyalty to his prince, and oppression of the poor.

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Grants, royal, style and manner of, c N.—Great men produced at Christ-ch. *p*.—Guymoud, a furious champion of clerical celibacy, *d*; reported founder of Christ-church, *e*.—Granada, singular prohibition of conversation between the friars and females who frequent the cathedral there, *g* N.

Henry III. the first king who entered Oxford contrary to the monkish superstition, *b*; Henry VIII. declares Christ-church an episcopal see, &c. *m*.

Ignorance before the reformation, *i*.—Ipswich, school at, *l*.—Justice, moral, can never prevail while a foreign power disposes of ecclesiastical property, *l* N.

King's description of the Saxon architecture in Christ-church, e N.—King, bp. portrait of, by whom executed, *o*.

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Nuns scandalously driven out of their houses by monks, c. — Nicholas, pope, called priests' wives whores, *d*.—Naves of conventual churches long for the uses of the friars, *n*.

Oxford, see of, protestant, *a*; distinction between, and those older, ib. N.; city of, superstition respecting the king's entrance, *b*, cathedral built, ib.; of Saxon workmanship, c N.—Oseney abbey, founded by a royal mistress and adulteress, *d* N.; was a short time the see of a bishop, but now ruined, ib.—Olivers painters on glass, *o*.

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Xerez, churches in, friars prohibited from conversing with the women.

OXFORD.

PRIORS OF ST. FRIDESWIDE.

Guymond	1111	J. de Lewkenshoven	1284	Robert Downham	1441
Robert	1150	Robert de Ewelm	1291	George Norton	1479
Phillip	1180	Alex. de Sutton	1317	Richard Walker	1495
John	1191	Robt. de Torneston	1346	Thomas Ware	1501
Willelm, about	1204	J. de Littlemore	1349	W. Chedyll (resigned)	——
Simon	1225	Nic. de Hungerford	1362	John Burton	1513
Helyas	1228	J. de Wallingford	1373	*After Eleven Years resigned to Wolsey, and in* 1531 *became abbot of Osney.*	
E. Scotus	1235	John Dodeford	1391		
Wm. de Gloucester	——	Thomas Bradenell	——		
Robt. de Weston	1248	R. de Oxenford	1401		
J. or R. de Olney	1259	Edmond Andover	1434		

BISHOPS.

Robert King	1542	Robert Skinner (3)	1640	John Potter (8)	1715
Vacant Ten Years.		William Paul	1663	Thomas Secker (9)	1737
H. Curwin	1567	Walter Blandford	1665	John Hume (10)	1758
Vacant Twenty Years.		Nathaniel Crew (4)	1671	Robert Lowth (11)	1766
John Underhill	1589	Henry Compton (5)	1674	John Butler (12)	1777
Vacant Eleven Years.		John Fell	1675	Edward Smallwell	1788
John Bridges	1603	Samuel Parker	1686	John Randolph (13)	1799
John Howson (1)	1619	Timothy Hall	1688	Charles Moss	1807
Richard Corbet (2)	1628	John Hough (6)	1690	WILLIAM JACKSON	1812
John Bancroft	1632	William Talbot (7)	1699		

DEANS.

Of Osney.

John Higdon	1524
Moore	——
John Oliver	——
John London	1542
Ric. Cox, and first	1543

Of Christchurch.

Richard Cox (14)	1546
Richard Marshall	1553
George Carew	1559
Thomas Samson (15)	1561
Thos. Godwyn (16)	1565
Thomas Cooper (17)	1567
John Piers (18)	1570
Tobias Matthew (19)	1576
William James (20)	1584
Thomas Ravis (21)	1596
John King (22)	1605
William Goodwin	1611
Richard Corbet (23)	1620
Brian Duppa (24)	1629
Samuel Fell (25)	1638
Edward Reynolds	1648
John Owen	1650
Edward Reynolds	1659
George Morley	1660
John Fell (26)	1660
John Massey (27)	1686
Henry Aldrich (28)	1689
Fran. Atterbury (29)	1711
Geo. Smalridge (30)	1713
Hugh Boulter (31)	1719
Wm. Bradshaw (32)	1724
John Conybeare (33)	1732
David Gregory (34)	1756
Wm. Markham (35)	1767
Lewis Bagot (36)	1777
Cyril Jackson (37)	1783
C. H. HALL	1809

(1) Translated to Durham.—(2) To Norwich.—(3) From Bristol, he suffered during the rebellion, but was restored, and afterwards translated to Worcester.—(4) To Durham.—(5) To London.—(6) To Litchfield.—(7) To Salisbury.—(8) To Canterbury.—(9) To Ditto.—(10) To Salisbury.—(11) To London.—(12) To Hereford.—(13) To London.—(14) Deprived by queen Mary, and Marshall forced into his place, the latter resigned after the death of his patroness.—(15) Deposed.—(16) Removed to Canterbury.—(17) Consecrated bishop of Lincoln.—(18) Ditto of Rochester.—(19) Removed to Durham.—(20) Ditto, ditto.—(21) Consecrated bishop of Gloucester.—(22) Ditto of London.—(23) See note 2d.—(24) Bishop of Chichester.—(25) Ejected by the rebels, and Reynolds put in his place, who was obliged to yield, by the same authority, to the famous John Owen; the latter was also expelled, and Reynolds restored for a few months, but was again compelled to retire, even before the restoration; his successor, Morley, was installed in February, 1660, consecrated bishop of Worcester in October following, and two years after translated to Winchester; he gave five exhibitions to Pembroke college, Oxford, three for natives of Jersey, and two for those of Guernsey.—(26) Made bishop.—(27) Resigned in 1688.—(28) He was a great architect, gave the plan of the east, west, and north sides of Peckwater-square, Oxford; "his distinguished taste," says Chalmers, "as a classical scholar, and erudition as a man of science, in the various branches which he cultivated, do not want any panegyric; his elements of civil architecture were elegantly published, with a correct translation, in 1790. Dr. A.'s talents were also admirably displayed in the erection of All Saints church and Trinity college chapel."—(29) The famous bishop of Rochester, the jacobite so smartly censured by Dr. Bentley.—(30) Consecrated bishop of Bristol.—(31) Bishop of Bristol, and translated to the primacy of Ireland.—(32) Bishop of Bristol.—(33) Ditto, ditto.—(34) He repaired the hall of Christchurch.—(35) Bishop of Chester, chosen preceptor to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and translated to York, in 1777.—(36) Successively bishop of Bristol, Norwich, and St. Asaph.—(37) Resigned.

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Errata.—P. *g*, note *, line 7, for "conciliebat *amiciæ*," read "concillabat *amicæ*."—p. *n*, note *, 11th line from bottom, for "sepulture" read "sculpture."—p. *p*, note *, 1st line, for "Gadiner's" read "Gardiner's."—p. *q*, last line but two, for "trifaria" read "triforia."

WINCHESTER.

BISHOPS.

Birinus	635	Kenulf	1006	William Wykeham	1367
Agilbert	650	Brithwold	1006	H. Beaufort, (card.)	1404
Wina	663	Elsine or Eadsine	1015	William Waynfleet	1447
Eleutherius	670	Alwin	1032	Peter Courtney	1480
Hedda	676	Stigand	1047	Thomas Langton	1493
Daniel	703	Walkelin or Walchelm	1070	Richard Fox	1500
Humfride	744	*Vacant Ten Years.*		T. Wolsey, (card.)	1529
Kinehard	754	William Giffard	1107	Stephen Gardiner	1531
Athelard	780	H. de Blois Blesensis	1129	John Poynet	1550
Egbald	790	*Vacant Three Years.*		John White	1556
Dudda	——	Richard Toclivius,		Robert Horne	1560
Kinebertb	——	Tocliffe or More	1174	John Watson	1580
Alhmund	803	God. de Lucy	1189	Thomas Cowper	1583
Wigthenius	——	Sir P. de Rupibus*	1205	William Wickham	1595
Herefrid	829-34	*Vacant Five Years.*		William Day	1595
Edmund	——	William de Raley	1244	Thomas Bilson	1597
Helmstan	837	*Vacant* 1249-60		James Montague	1616
Swithin	852	Ethelmar †	1260	Lanc. Andrews	1618
Adferth or Athelred	863	John of Exeter, Oxon or Gervase ‡	1262	Richard Neile	1627
Dumbert	871	Nicholas Eliensis	1268	Walt. Curle	1632
Denewolf	879	John de Pontys	1282	*Vacant Ten Years.*	
Athelm	887	Henry Woodlock	1305	Brian Duppa	1660
Bertulf	892	John Sandall	1316	George Morley	1662
Frithstan	909	Regin. Asser	1320	P. Mews	1684
Brinstan	932	John Stratford §	1323	Sir J. Trelawney, bt.	1707
Elphegus Calvus	935	A. de Orlton or Tarlton	1333	Charles Trimnell	1721
Elfsinus	951	John Edingdon	1346	Richard Willis	1723
Brithelm	958	William Wykeham	1367	Benjamin Hoadley	1734
Ethelwald	963	H. Beaufort, (card.)	1404	John Thomas	1761
Elphegus or Elfege	984	William Wayntleet	1447	Hon. Br. North	1781

PRIORS.

Dinotus or Devotus in the Second Century.		Walter I.	1171	Nic. de Tavente	1305
		John	1175	Richard de Enford	1309
Brithnoth	963	Robert III.	1187	Alexander Heriard	1332
Brithwold	970	Roger	1214	John de Merlow	1349
Alfric	1006	Walter II. died in	1239	W. de Thudden	1361
Wulfsig	1023	Andrew	1240	Hugh de Basyng	1361
Vacant.		Walter III.	1243	Robert de Rudbone	1384
Simeon	1065	J. de Caletoor Chauz	1247	Thomas Nevyle	1394
Godfrey	1080	William de Tanton	1249	Thomas Shyrborne	——
Geoffry I	1107	Andrew II.	1296	William Aulton	1444
Geoffry II.	1111	Ralph Russel	1265	R. Marlborough	1447
Eustachius	1114	Valentine	1265	Robert Westgate	1457
Hugh	1120	John de Dureville	1276	Thomas Hunton	1470
Geoffry III.	1126	Adam de Farnham	1279	Thomas Silkestede	1498
Ingulph	——	W. de Basyng I.	1284	Henry Brock	1524
Robert I.	1130	W. de Basyng II.	1284	W. Kingsmell	1536
Robert II.	1136	Henry Wodelock	1295	(*Resigned in* 1539)	

DEANS.

William Kingsmell, last prior of St. Swithin's and first dean	1540	Law. Humphrey	1580	William Trimnell	1721
		Martin Heton	1588	Charles Naylor	1729
		George Abbot	1599	Zachariah Pearce	1738
Sir John Mason	1549	Thomas Moreton	1609	Thomas Cheyney	1747
Edmund Steward	1553	John Young	1616	Jona. Shipley	1760
John Warner	1559	Alexander Hyde	1660	Newton Ogle	1769
Francis Newton	1565	William Clark	1665	Robt. Holmes	1804
John Watson	1570	Richard Meggot	1679	Thos. Rennel	1805
		John Wickart	1692		

* He wished to bribe the guards of the castle in Devizes to murder their prisoner, Hubert de Burgh; chief justiciary, &c. to John and Hen. III. † Henry III.'s half-brother, but never consecrated. ‡ At his death Richard More was elected, but set aside by the archbishop. § Translated to Canterbury.